000 The Tapirapé, a Tupi Tribe of Central Brazil
[Os Tapirapé, Tribu Tupí no Brasil Central]

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[Title page]

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000 [Figs. 13 and 19, although referred to in the text, were apparentsly not published.]

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End Photographs. [The numbers in parentheses in the captions are the numbers assigned to the individuals in Baldus' village census. Photographs 1-2, 33-77 were apparently not published, although they are referred to in the text.]

[96:155] Note

128 For the citation of sources, the italicized number (for example, *2*) refers to the numeration of the works of the author concerned, which appears in the bibliography presented at the end of the present work [Ed., the bibliography was apparently not published]; the Roman number (for example, I) indicates, for works of several volumes, the volume concerned; the Arabic number not italicized (for example, 2) is the page number; for works paginated with Roman numerals, a special designation is given for the page (for example, p. I).

194 [96:156] Since the native words are not regularly stressed on the penultimate, the acute accent indicates the tonic syllable.

The Tapirapé language is even more nasalized than the other Tupí dialects we know. Since this nasalization affects nearly all sounds in the pronunciation of certain individuals, it has not been specifically indicated.

Parentheses ( ) indicate that the sound of the letter between them is reduced to near imperceptibility.

a, *e*, *o*, *u* are closed vowels.

b, *d*, *f*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, *v* sound the same as in Portuguese [Tr., therefore roughly as in English].

au has the same sound as in the German *auf*.

i before a vowel is the German *j* in *ja*; before a consonant or at the end of a word, it is a vowel.

y represents the guttural *i* characteristic of Tupí and certain other South American linguistic families, which appears, for example, in the Tupí word *y*, "water." In Tapirapé, it often ends in a reduced consonant that recalls the German *ch* in *ich*.

g has the same sound as in the Portuguese *gato*, *guerra*, and *guia*, or the German *gut*, or the English "good." It forms a special sound only when preceded by *n*.

ng has the nasal and medial gutteral sound of the German *singen* and English "king." The g following *ng* (*ngg*) is pronounced like the g in the Portuguese *gato* [or English "good."].

h is aspirated as in the German hat and English has.

k corresponds to the Portuguese c in cão [or the English "car"].

ch is the tch in the word tcheco, or the ch in the Spanish muchacha, or the ch in English "charm."

x as in the Portuguese caixa, or the sch in the German schon, or sh in English "she."

r is mid-dental (alveolar), close to the nasal n.

s is the Portuguese s in sal, or the German ss in essen, or s as in English "song."

ä as in Portuguese é, or the German ähnlich.

ö as in the French eux and the ö in German mögen.

ü is the u in the French dur, or the ü in German für.

The following sounds alternate among themselves: (1) a:e; (2) a:o; (3) e:ö:i:y; (4) o:u, (5) u:ü:y; (6) m:v; (7) r:l:v; (8) ch:t. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 96, pp. 157-165, bearing the title, "1. The Tapirapé River," is omitted.] [Map 1 appears here.]

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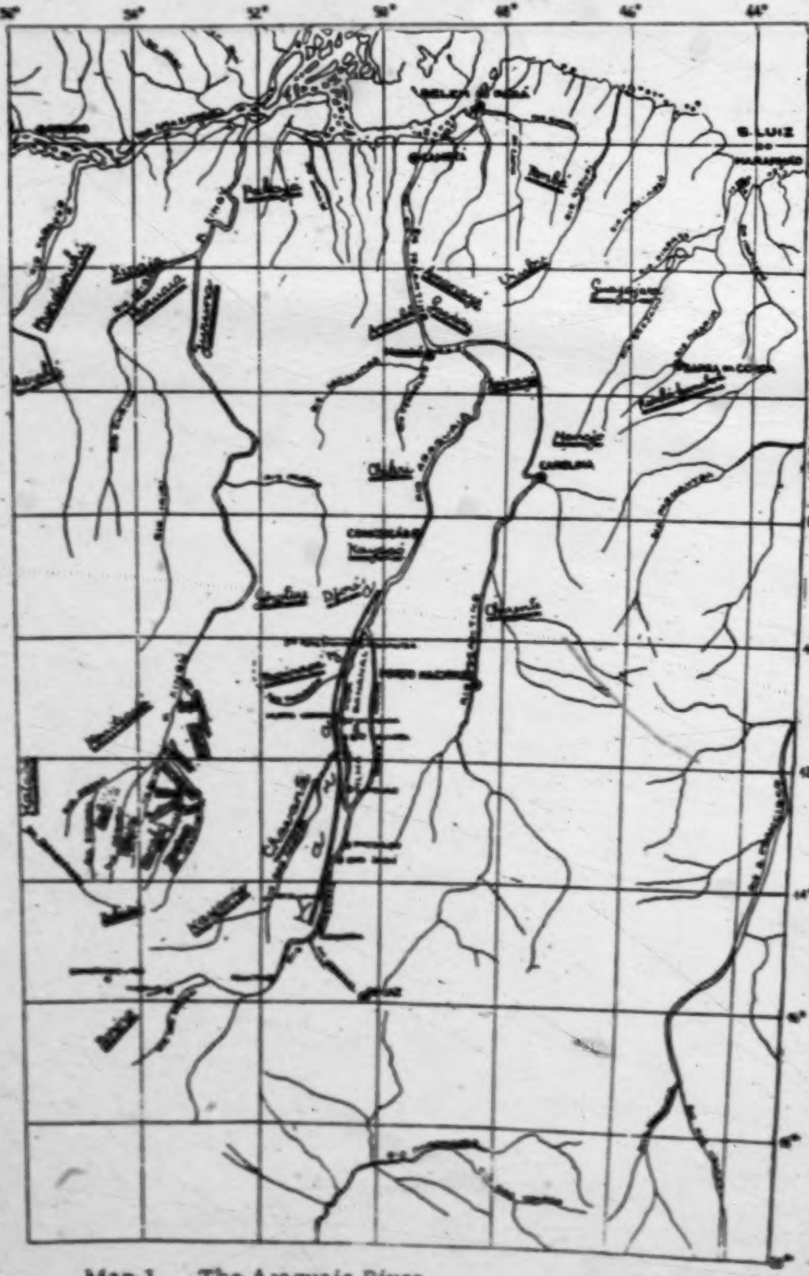
58°
56°
54°
52°
50°
48°
46°
44°
0°
2°
4°
6°
8°
10°
12°
14°
16°
18°
Belém do Pará
S. Luiz do Maranhão
Carolina
Conceição

Map 1. The Araguaia River

[97:45] Chapter 1

The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

[97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

133 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which
137 is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest
quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50]
over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were
not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces
from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado
[Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes
the distance between the trees increases, and they become better
developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas,
that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes
these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees
concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of
muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland
from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil
[134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I
gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands
surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a
point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while
I was in Tampĩitana [later referred to as Tampiitaua], the village of
the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest,
and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands
134 and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be
[491] so hard that the Indians massage their feet and legs after having walked
several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I
found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few
restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close
to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

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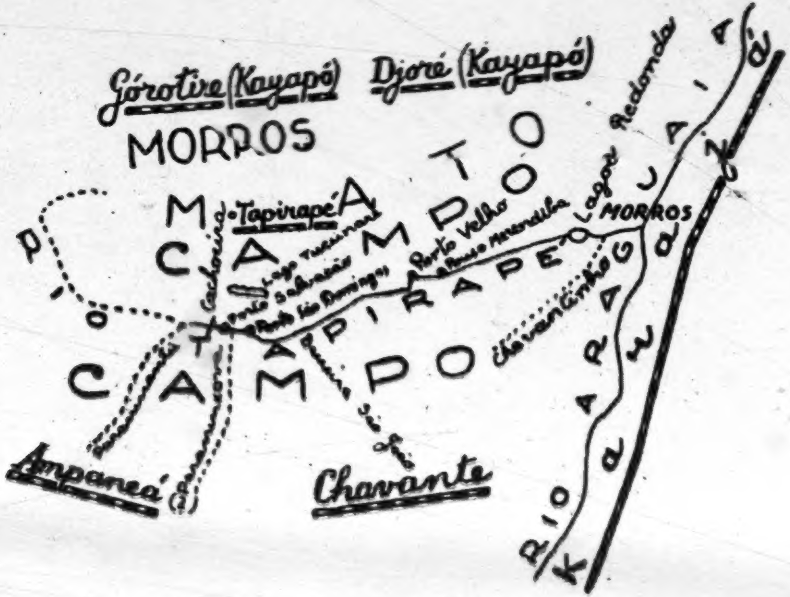
[MAP 2]


Górotire (Kayapó)
Djoré (Kayapó)
MORROS
CAMPO ALTO
Tapirapé
CAMPO ALTO
Cachoeira
Lago Tucunaré
Porto Salvação
Porto São Domingos
Porto Velho
Lagoa Redonda
MORROS
RIO TAPIRAPÉ
Chavantinho
CAMPO
Ampaneá
(?)
Chavante
RIO ARAGUAIA

Map 2. The Tapirapé River.

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river 241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. 133 This forest, aside from being flooded extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing 312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid 226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity 487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a 114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the 133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tɨmpũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter- [137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré, [103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract [136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and [136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late [132] start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking
another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional
Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains
fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then
set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before
going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked
through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was
lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached
dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15
minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but
after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a
half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from
each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking
through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those
Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at
dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk
a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace
is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same
speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in
the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west.
We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that
hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once
in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our *camarada* [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other.
The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all
the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland,
we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My
camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away,
one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with
us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a
little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there
to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot
ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River *aviohy* (or *aviuhy*),
which means "fluff water," *hy* being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section
in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

Chapter 2

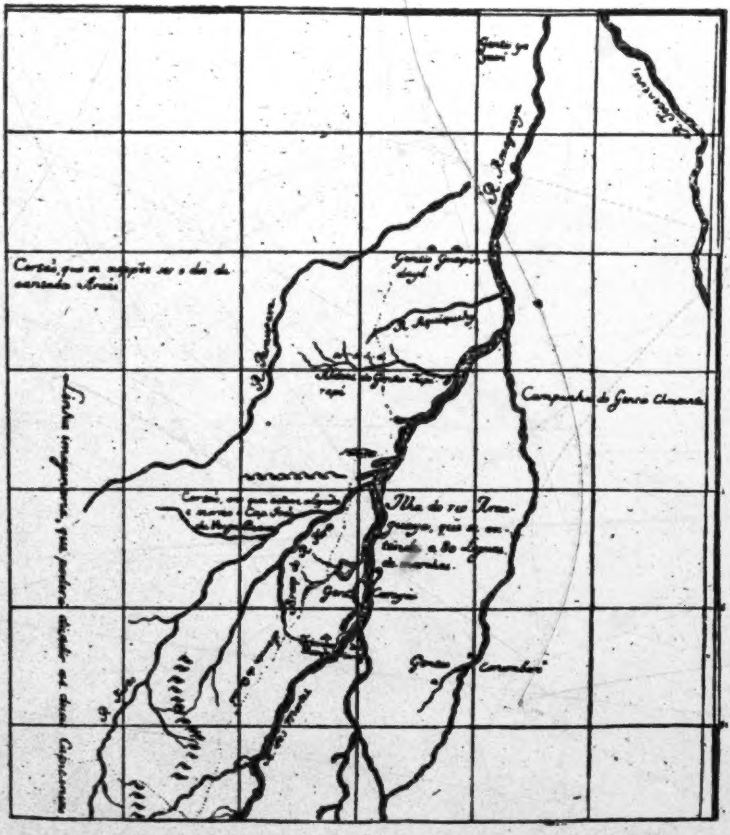
[98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians. They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

103 I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tamputáua and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]


R. Araguaya
Campanha do Gentio Chavante
Illa do rio Araguaya
Linha imaginaria

Map 3. The Middle Course of the Araguaia (18th Century).

114 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedi-
tion] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the
175 Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues
above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meet-
ing, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far
as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. Ac-
cording to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo be-
tween the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of
the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expedi-
tions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the
place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few
expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the
Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition,
recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio
de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues,
one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the
expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is,
the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-
106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their
language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass
beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats,
all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French
for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their
houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a
distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress
they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar
mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have
fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians
killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days'
journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those
whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaïma,
that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were
large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

175 648 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the [241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned [501] were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 101 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To [197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower
Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and
Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River
studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and
Raimundo Lopes (2)[2]

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
501 Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá,
still retain the Tupí word for canoe, *yana* in Tapirapé pronunciation.
Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 *Caatinga*, a Tupí word consisting of *caá*, "bush," and *tinga*,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of
[137] gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during
the dry season, forests called *catingas* or *matos sêcos* [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuytapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as
"Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (*ibid.* [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited *apud* Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111
are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of
Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that
they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó
[Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They
add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé
River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another
Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and
therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they
had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the
southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also
Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than
that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé
became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality,
are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37,
map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery,
the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory
comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds
of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-
day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokrê-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[173] [98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

[648] In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

114 173 174 After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tra-
dition there is that they lived in the same village with the
Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial
method when they were living with the Javahé, in which
case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of
my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally,"
that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126]
"land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

823 [173] that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there 174 once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

Chapter 3

[99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 [648] Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé.
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175 I have already mentioned what Silva e Souza said in 1812, Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the *Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitao Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815* [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2,
175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians *Tapirapeques* north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions *Tapirapeques* north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's *Atlas ethnographique* [Ethnographic
114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues
174 de la région Guarani-Brésilienne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques,[spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown 174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in 175 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria [648] [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Villa-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." [114] Since Martius gives no reason for classifying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879, 175 writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship *Araguaya*, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the *Araguaya*, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

[181] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé [174] and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

175 (*ibid.*). [Ed., the last few lines of p. 68 and most of p. 69 are omitted.]

[99:69] Concerning the contact of the Tapirapé with the 175 Whites during the past century, one should also mention the 648 Colégio Isabel [Isabel School], which Couto de Magalhães (2, 132) referred to as follows a few years after its founding in 1871: "... all the tribes of the Araguaia are now represented among its 52 pupils." According to the preface to the second edition of the *Viagem ao Araguaya* [Journey to the Araguaia] by the same author (1, p. XXV), "About 20 children of both sexes immediately entered from the tribes of the Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Tapirapés, and three from the extinct tribe of the Guajajaras."

In this connection, one should hote that while the Guajajara are not yet extinct, the same cannot be said of the Colégio Isabel. Its existence was brief. In the account [99:70] of his 1888 journey published in 1892, Ehrenreich (3, 4) writes as follows: "On August 14, a number of Kayapó arrived in Leopoldina. They came from the so-called Colégio Isabel, which is now located two leagues down-river on the left bank, near Dumbazinho. They were in the company of their headmaster. They provided us with linguistic and somatic data. At the same time, we learned something of the situation in that colony, which is quite typical of the way in which the civilizing task is often carried out in this country. The institute was founded by Couto de Magalhães in the year 1871, with the aim of Christianizing Indian children, turning them into sedentary colonists, and attracting, at the same time, their savage tribal fellows. The government furnished clothes and other imported articles, especially agricultural tools. It also provided a considerable quantity of cattle, of which, at the time of his marriage, every Indian received a certain number. In addition, the government also provided an annual subvention of 5 contos. At the time of Couto de Magalhães, and especially during Sebastião's administration, the school prospered and enjoyed universal respect, even among the most distant savage tribes. Kayapó and Tapirapé children entered the school. I was told that a Tapirapé who had been educated there and who had later returned to his tribe, appeared a few years later on the river bank and awaited the arrival of the steamer for two months in a Karajá encampment so he could send his son to the same institution.

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep
175 all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time
648 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (8), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the
[139] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became
175 part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made
224 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass
726 (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405):
175 "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three
648 young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikré, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaná of Dozahíkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention.
114 According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted
175 a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before
648 Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

175
114 towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful.
[448] I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitáua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

114
175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteçao aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

[161] [648] Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

[113] 797 175 Ten years later, according to the Messageiro do Santo Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several
days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco,
and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitáua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their
village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with
great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific
value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitáua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitáua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British mis-
sionary F. C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America,
which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed
with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from
July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934,
and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there
together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October, 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.

175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have
177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in-
797 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial.
[164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct
177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually
177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration
797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large-
164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only
partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced
prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully
[114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics
[165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected
[731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of
[178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people
177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and
[821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost
nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused
[731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá
[726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the
pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

Chapter 4

[100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. 171 535 I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They [114] perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the *jacuí* ("*yakuí*") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that
region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters
of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the
Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the
dance of the *jacuí* and that of a fish called *koahálu* among the
former and *hũvát* among the latter (*ibid.*, 310-317). True, the
masks used by those tribes (*ibid.*, Figs. 107-114) differ completely
from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little
may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs
of those Xingu Indians (*ibid.*, 313-315) discloses no similarity to
the *chankuí* and *iranchá* performances. On the other hand, the
Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks,
their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between
the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the
above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a
mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first
to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between
the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old
relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly docu-
mented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp.
192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante]
to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called
Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When
dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to
the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north
of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelle
the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as
possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refug
in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. Th

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to
settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
797 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this re-
quest was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed
20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from
a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among
the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe
since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the
Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out
on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said,
"I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to
a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you
need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer,"
as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big
killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he
laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

648 123 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 609 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking
[533] pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[831] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[522] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[536] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 726 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, another spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a
blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A
masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows
at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other
and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure
emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion,
stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was
resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly,
however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front
of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it,
and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All
[177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely
disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings
of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and
my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé
pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures
alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry,
and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them
[535] faced the back of the man in front while others were turned
toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the
other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with
their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times
for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled
among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and
vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which
181 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the
nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol
of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists
in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
609 neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the
ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs
of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal
cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although
it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist.
Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[1] [i.e., the Kayapó.-Analyst]

114 175 726 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 171 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 [731] [554] [578] In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
578 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished
621 from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
[123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent
many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased
the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village
166 that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already
578 in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained
enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack
through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute
certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
[627] from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal
hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Furthermore,
[224] when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
[352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
carry because they are few and light in weight.

166 It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of 621 public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. [627] Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's vil- 164 lage was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição 731 transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchõ and his wife. Then the separatists
[166] returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican
[113] expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50
[481] kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[608] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The
[161] people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

[161] The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or
two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitãua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be
assumed that a few additional families were absent during the
missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé.
They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[312] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and
in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the
village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution
of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the
ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

162 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
621 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitãua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore,
that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Individuals	Married	Sons	Daughters	Individuals	Married	Sons	Daughters
Less than 1 year	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
1-2 years	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
3-5 years	9	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
6-10 years	7	—	—	—	11	—	—	—
11-14 years	9	—	—	—	7	6	—	—
15-17 years	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20 years	9	8	—	2	6	6	—	—
21-25 years	11	10	1	4	5	5	2	2
26-30 years	5	4	1	1	9	9	4	10
31-35 years	8	7	2	5	7	6	5	2
36-40 years	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
41-45 years	2	2	1	—	2	2	2	1
46-50 years	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
56-60 years	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
Total	69	35	6	14 (sic)	61	35	16	16

162
621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "*appeared* to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592
162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621
166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (*ibid.*) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 756 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no *médicos-feiticeiros* [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of *pagés* [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p.42]

162
592

	MALES			FEMALES			
	Under 15	15 and over	Total	Under 15	15 and over	Total	Total Number of Occupants
House a	2	12	14	8	9	17	31
House b	2	4	6	3	4	7	13
House c	2	3	5	1	2	3	8
House d	1	2	3	2	3	5	8
House e	5	9	14	7	6	13	27
House f	3	4	7	1	4	5	12
House g	4	2	6	1	2	3	9
House h	2	4	6	6	2	8	14
Takana	5	3	8	-	-	-	8
Total	26	43	69	29	32	61	130

1:Baldus--41 K-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

166 776 [821] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

103 166 The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the pirarucú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 961 Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as 648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful [161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Bereromandó and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

142 Krause (2, 405) noted the same differences in the Tapirapé women and boys whom he encountered among the Karajá. He gives (ibid., 180) the average height of the Karajá as 166 centimeters for the southern group and 160-162 centimeters for the northern group. 141 The height of the Tapirapé varies, as a rule, between 150 and 160 centimeters. Kamairá, the tallest, who was but 170 centimeters tall, stood out among them quite strikingly. The average height of the Kayapó, who are also taller than the Tapirapé, is 165.7 centimeters (Krause, ibid., 370).

In all the above-mentioned tribes, the women are considerably shorter than the men.

142 The physical appearance of the Tapirapé, like that of many Brazilian tribes, reveals two different types. It is true that in the majority of cases these two types are mixed to a greater or lesser extent, but they are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. One is a slender type with fine features, represented, for example, by Kamairahó (Photos. 51 and 52), Urukumy (Photo. 53), and Mareromyó (Photo. 3), and the other a thickset type with a coarser face, such as Vuanomanchí [105:78] (Photo. 63) and Ipayva (Photos. 32 and 60). If these types had originated from ethnic stratification, the former one would have made up the upper layer, for it is not only numerically superior but also peculiar to chiefs and their close relatives. This type unquestionably has Tupí char- 142 acteristics, while the other one may perhaps be related to the 144 Kayapó as described by Krause (ibid.), or to other Gê peoples.

The somatic characteristics I designate as Tupí and peculiar to the Tapirapé are the short and slender figure, the aquiline nose, and a greater resemblance to Europeans in facial features and overall appearance than is found in other Indians. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first half of p. 79 are omitted.]

[105:79] The so-called aquiline nose, which appears in many Tupí tribes, is also found among the Tapirapé (Photo. 1). Tenivuahúa is a good example of this (Photo. 55). This Tupí nose differs from the Gê type not only in its convex bridge, but sometimes also in its lesser width. [Ed., the remainder of p. 79 and the first half of p. 80 are omitted.]

142 [106:80] Many Tapirapé bear a greater resemblance to Europeans in face and overall appearance than other Indians do. This should not be taken to mean that their "European characteristics"

142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Irawy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Eirovytyngaho (Photo. 67) the name "Tori" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[106:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of stature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamairá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé. It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

114
147 F. Krause (2, 185) says of the Karajá: "The Indians have a characteristic body odor. It is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It is hard to say, however, to what extent it is due to the oil [106:82] turning rancid on their skin and hair." Concerning this, I must say that in spite of my excellent sense of smell, I was never able to discern among the numerous Indian tribes I visited any characteristic racial odor such as the one I noticed, for example, in many African Negroes (but not all), that stench which Brazilians call *catinga* and which is reminiscent of rancid soap. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[142]
826 Some Tapirapé, indeed, have a rather light skin. In this respect, however, most of them do not attain their own ideal of beauty, which is white, as white as the habitually covered skin of northern Europeans. The women never tired of feeling my arms when I pushed up my sleeves. They expressed in this fashion their

826 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for
in this respect they could not be surpassed. My camarada Daniel,
a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not
151 attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most at-
826 tractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their
own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin
exactly as they did mine, with the terms chinga and typiánia, both
of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in
[196] scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for
the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than
they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the
possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such
seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the de-
sirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations
with the information provided by the Indians.

171 Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins.
826 Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the
whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very high-
ly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of
white people in their myths)."

In 1663, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

171 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come
826 out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche *6*, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by
[304] nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close
[171] and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis
171 sheath, someone first told me the word *nohó*. This is the name
192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call *noodakán* (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word *cherakuichivoháua* to designate "my penis sheath," from *cherakui*, "my penis," and *háua*, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a
[287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called *pinavó* by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot.
[531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely,
and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed
exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to
its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of
this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held
in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the
[832] inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of
this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be
involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also
[834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that,
[171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord,
that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women.
There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as
751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example.
We have known cases where these parasites fastened their
proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The
[825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little
creatures and call them all *tantevoga*. [Ed., a paragraph is
omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá
291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the
[171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the
haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps
[524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were
supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p.
85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called *anchekuakuán* or
[283] *chikoanghohâua* in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted
[462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men.
The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
291 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

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291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[573] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally
illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[797] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may deriv some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary co-tinued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairí, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairí sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[797] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

177
301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the
301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo.
[171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck-
[855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé
[674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipé, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut
302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair
171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2
302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys
[856] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[514] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:209] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261
826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer
to this procedure as *ekopaí*. They remove body hair by covering
it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers.
They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[413] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special
instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass
plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of
Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (*3*)] which
is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger,
while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about
to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then
he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down.
A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and
removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of *Streptogyne crinita*
Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first
two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[88] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated
is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation
ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The
Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between
the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both
on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is
carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient
steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[821] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (*4*, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he
did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young
boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in *4*,
72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, *chainiíua*. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

304 413 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com- [237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyón subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitáua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 881 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical 304 824 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant": una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in [386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves [278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurã). As at 302 881 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

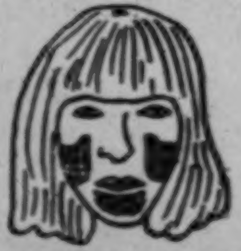
Fig. 1

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[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the *tamankurá* or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation.
They eat nothing but green-maize *cauí* [a soup]. Both men and
women sing the *kaó*, a kind of national anthem. When the whole
ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes
characteristic of women.

The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
304 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy
412 for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate
the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the
incisions (Photo. 22) is called *voamé*. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in
a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide
a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
(Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (*kanoanó*) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created
by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is
also taken from the tooth of an agouti (*akutí*, *ankuchí*), another
rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

Krause (*2*, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
304 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and
114 a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth."
As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed.
And the drawings published by Krause (*ibid.*, Fig. 262),
although they disagree with the description above by the same author
in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the
lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal
and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women.
[Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include
several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the
last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which
are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken
into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

It should be pointed out further

304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. 302 886 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (*chenipáua* in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (*Genipa americana*, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (*Bixa orellana*, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it *urukú*, lending the vowel a sound that lies between *u* and a closed *o*. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (*ibid.*) and [108:122] Soares de Souza (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called *iokópaí*, while [192] *kuantiana* is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not
[841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting.
[513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

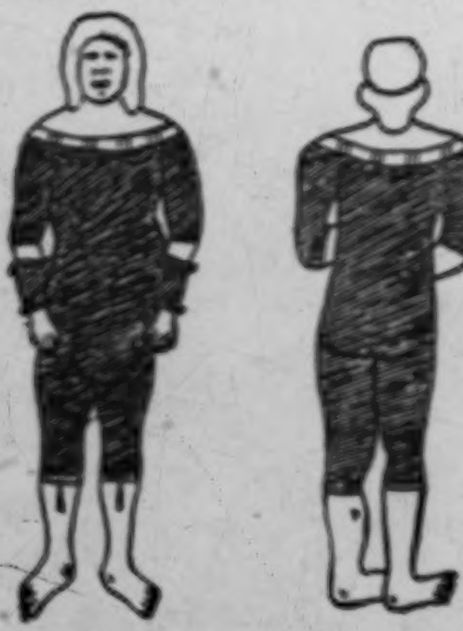

Fig. 2. Vuangiané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangiané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihaufua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaha (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4)
[01] kananchabó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar
[17] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pe, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuanghané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora-[171]tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw it on the arms.

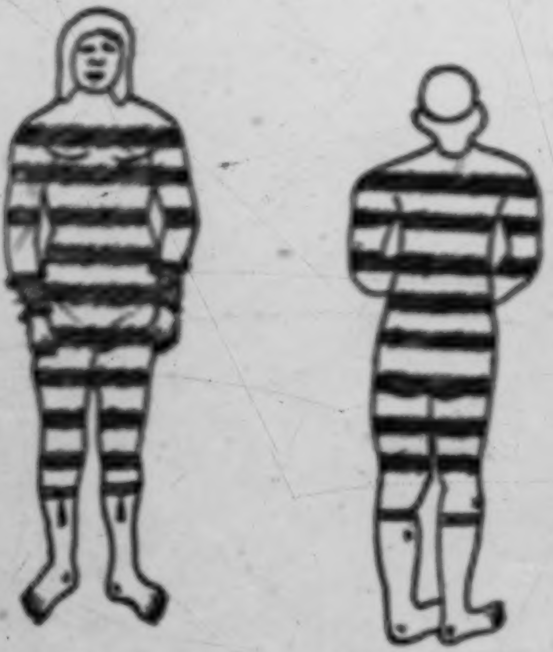

Fig. 3. Ipãnaúna male body painting.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the
302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer
881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
[illegible] among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[illegible] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:128] the back. The tips of these last eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

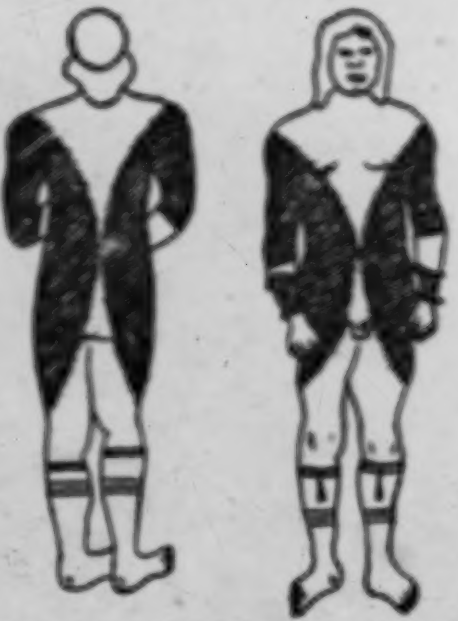

Fig. 4. Chambioaka male body painting.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kamaana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9).
[531] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining ma-
[881] terial, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.

[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

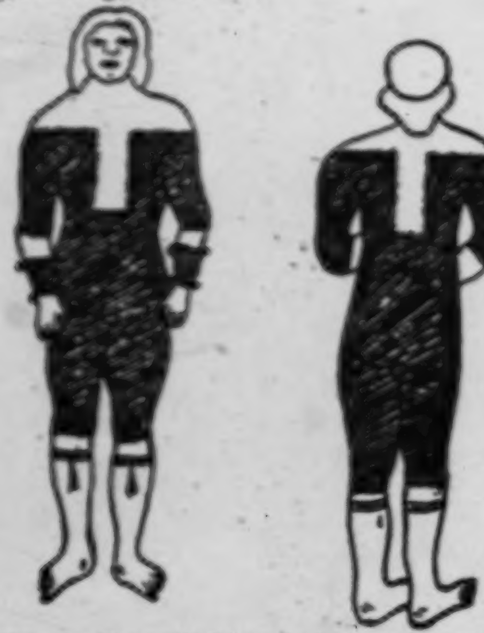

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the
114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect
302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its
751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

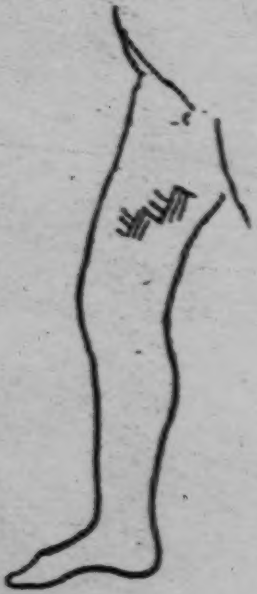

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

302
789 The supposition that body painting originally had a magical purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time, would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauf of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[29] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
-171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, avió) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[30] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (yhyrysa in

The glue is a resin (*ykyryva* in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (*chany*). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[361] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[191] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (*4*, 33-34 [Tr., in English at *4*, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[796] headdress--the *ankungitána*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the *ankungitána*, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[782] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the *ankungitána*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
787 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topĩ*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the *topĩ*), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the *topĩ*, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many *topĩ* and many souls of shamans near
[775] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he
[756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the *ankungitána*, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *panché-ãnwera*. Urukumú picked up the *ankungitána*. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
825 most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (*ibid.*, Note 30) says in
[238] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. *ibid.*, Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (*ibid.*, Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 18) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

295 belonged to the headdress called anghyngbetanohô, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitâna by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and
a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti
palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or
four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung
on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of
vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular
position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In
the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded
ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each
other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27
centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied
with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping.
At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made
up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie
parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark
brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to
nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length
from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the
entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held
by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters
apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the
folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[776] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchynga, that is to say,
"shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The
periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total
width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings
divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two
pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that
these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common
entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of
both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same
two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each
other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An
irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between
two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.
292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that these holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen [171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 7). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some 301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 8). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted [283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut, [237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (*Ostinops viridis*), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the [386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles- 301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton 881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only 171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by 301 Krause (1, *passim*), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 1, 228), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, *passim*), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 1, *passim*), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 1, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 301 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epidemics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments. [182 764] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

495 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanamí). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 292 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanahó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravoy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., 301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates 881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and 171 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ 301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, whichvary with the age of the wearer. 257 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say *emekuana* (*emeguana*, *temekuana*), or *emekuaní* if a small boy is concerned. *Emé* means "lower lip" (*cheremé*, "my lower lip"), *kuana* means "hole," and *i* is a diminutive (*kuaní*, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of these plugs contain the embedded tooth of a *tapiti* (*Sylvilagus minensis*, *tampichí* in Tapirapé) (Photo. 16). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [324] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunk of a tree called *tanchimoyva* in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 324 [881] At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi name *tembetá*, from *tembé*, "lower lip," and *itá*, "stone." This

30/ word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the *botoque* which differs from the *tembetá* in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of *itachinga*, "white stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by
[135] them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitâua, near Moytâua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitâua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the *tembetá* was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kanió to show me how it was worn. It became evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kanió coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

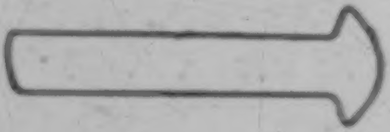

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz *tembetá*.

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
[7/ Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
30] concerning the existence of Tapirapé *tembetá* among the [109:78] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 18) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitâua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

171/ bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301/ The thin part of the *tembetá* is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (*1*, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (*manutere*) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The
[439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Calapé Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (*2*, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (*ibid.*, 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and
[304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band.
[439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high...." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[100/78] The same author [Métraux] states (*2*, 165-166): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz *tembetá* is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone *tembetá*,

[7| however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
80| I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 3), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (1, 238), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamatiorá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
[462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[illegible] needle (chuhuia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
[illegible] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (deuí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

171 30 I saw few of them in Tampiitáua, and those extant were worn exclusively by youths who had already been initiated (Photos. 10 and 70). Among the Karajá, however, these objects are also worn on the forearms of young girls and children (Krause, ibid., Plates 16, 18, 45, Fig. 3).

The garters (deobuté in Karajá, according to Krause, ibid.) are strips with reinforced edges and tassels hanging down the front. Indian women close them with crochet stitches directly on the leg, that is to say, just below the knee. Each of the garters in the pair reproduced in Photograph 14a, which had been used by a Tapirapé man, is two and a half centimeters wide and 25 centimeters in circumference, while the tassels are 12 centimeters long. A pair of garters belonging to a little girl had the same width, and its tassels were 20 centimeters long. Among the Tapirapé, the garters are worn by girls before puberty (Photos. 3 and 9), by boys (Photos. 28, 53, 61, and 69) and by adult males (Photos. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61, and 68). The same applies to the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plates 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43, and 45). According to Krause (ibid., 226 and Plate 44), they frequently tie up the tassels in the back to prevent them from being an encumbrance while running and on long walks. Sometimes, among the Tapirapé, these tassels are merely cut off (Photo. 28).

Only a few little girls in Tampiitáua wore tamankurá at the ankles while I was there (Photos. 3, 9, 12). This ornament is a cylinder with a reinforced and outcurving lower edge and fringes as long as the tamankurá itself hanging from the upper edge. One specimen was 12 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end and 16 at the lower end, while the lower edge was four centimeters wide. I was told that certain social and spiritual leaders such as Kamairahó, Vuatanamy, and Urukumy had also worn similar ornaments before puberty. Among the Karajá, I saw boys as well as girls with bands at the ankles. These were distinct, however, from the corresponding tamankurá of Tapirapé girls in that they did not have an outcurving edge (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 44 and Plates 16 and 40). Their Karajá name is walaá (ibid., 226).

[109:83] According to Krause (ibid., 227), the Karajá begin to use leg bands right after birth, and cut them off and replace

[7|) 30| them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitaua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:101] Chapter 7

The Village and the Houses

[56|] 35/ At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuçra in Tapirapé)

35/ lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstructions. [872] The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and [114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de [712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

36/ In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious 712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were 114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed [514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their [711] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier *apud* J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Souza, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing [721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the 36/ village. [illegible] Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and ~~for~~ washing the sleeping hammocks. [illegible] A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to 211 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective 776 labor performed for Kamairaho. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

249 276 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the *takana*, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the *takana* and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 8). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] [578] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 156 166 361 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of *Blattella germanica* L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] [731] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

[facing p. 193]

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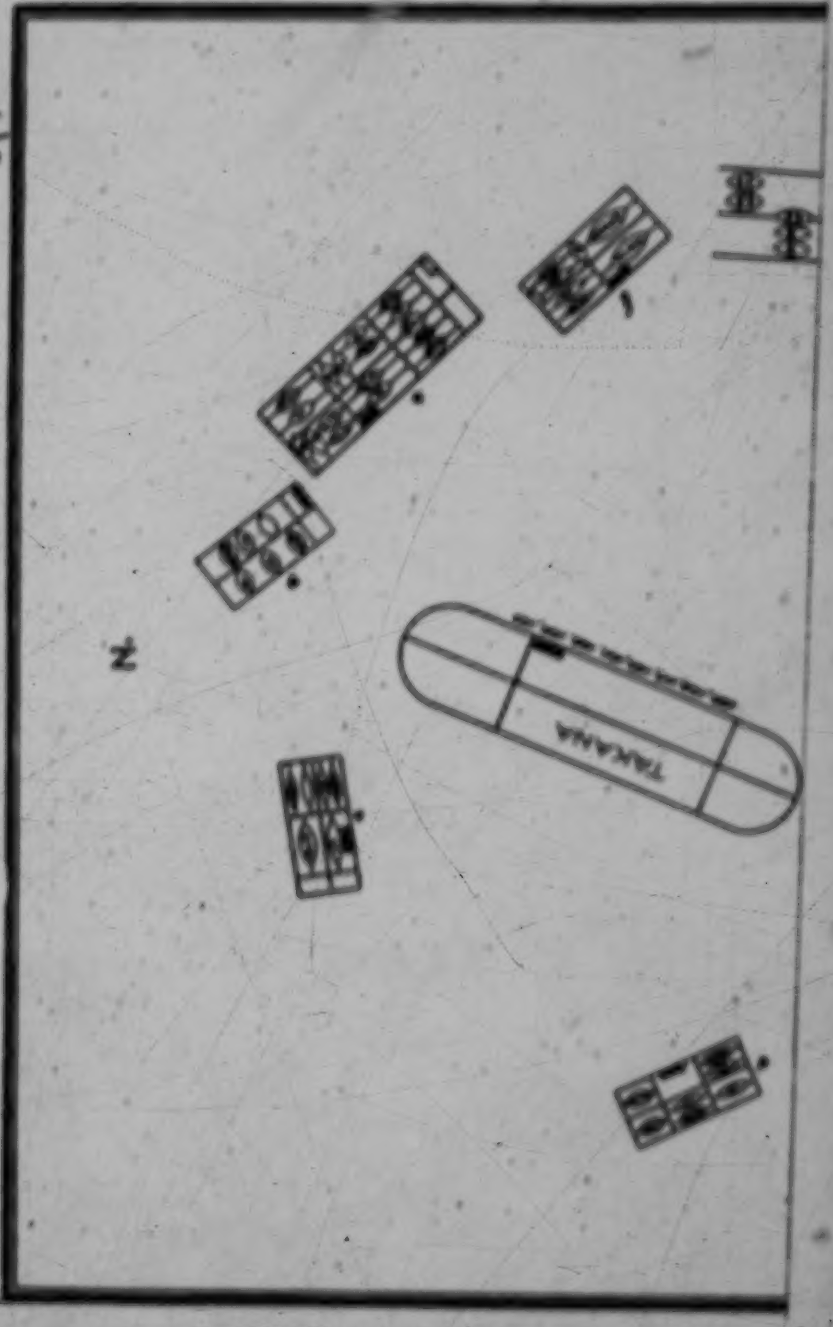

[FIG. 4 - TOP HALF]

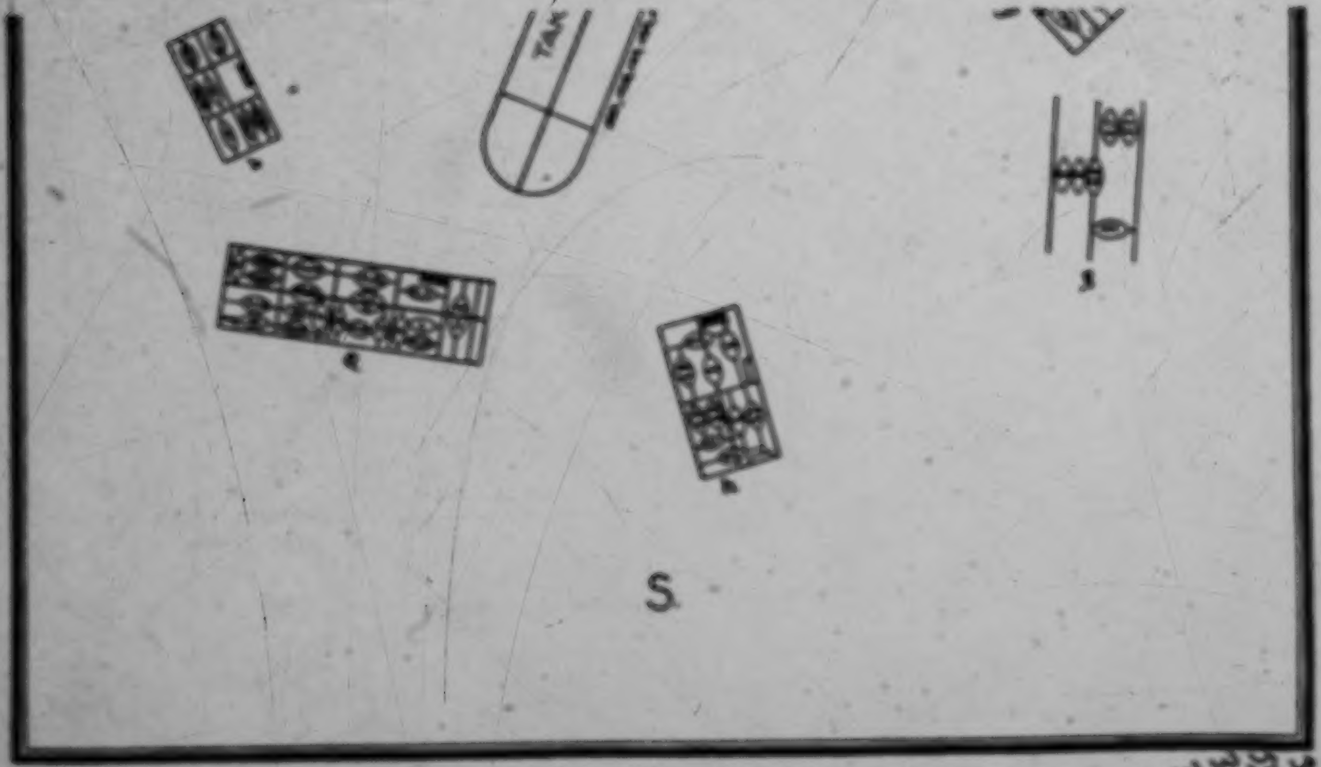

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Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

[FIG-8- BOTTOM HALF]

361 size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their [342] occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

342 Since I did not witness the construction of houses (*avuyra-ham*, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of [313] varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (*Heliconia* spec.) and of the palm called *macaia* by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these mate- [482] rials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house *a* (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the *takana*. In house *a*, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 2.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is [592] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and [283] are tied with *embira* cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 46). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

342 Once the framework is completed, the Indians drive rods into the ground in a straight line between the outer vertical shafts. The series of numbers in Fig. 9 (3, 8, 11, 10, 7, and 1) refers to these rods, which I represented with dots on the ground plan of house a. The rods are fastened with embira cord to the ridge formed by the highest longitudinal poles, and to the longitudinal poles connecting the outer vertical shafts. This results in an elongated dome where the roof and walls make up a homogeneous unit rather than two separate sections. Once the men have planted the rods securely in the ground, they tie onto them horizontal ones [Figs. 9 and 10 appear here] (marked with circles in Fig. 10), beginning at the bottom and working their way up so that they use the rods as a ladder until they reach the top.

When this has been done, sticks about one meter long are fastened vertically about one meter apart to the outside of the longitudinal poles connecting the outer shafts. These sticks are fastened in such a way that they stand half above and half below the longitudinal poles, their upper half conforming to the curvature of the dome and their lower half jutting out slightly. The sole purpose of these sticks is to hold, in the middle of their lower, jutting half, a cord of twisted embira fiber that stretches all around the house, tied with a knot to every stick. This cord supports from below the "wild banana" leaves laid out evenly and carefully [110:195] on the framework of beams and rods, and fits into notches cut into their stems for this purpose. The

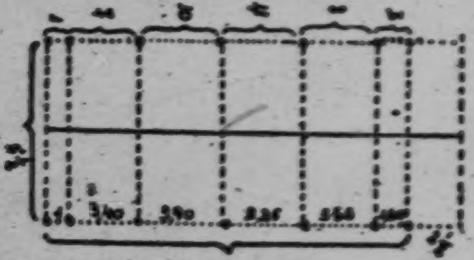

Fig. 9.

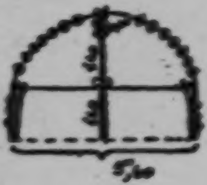

Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Plan of house a.
Fig. 10. Cross-section of house a.

912 Indians curve the leaves slightly to make them conform to the curvature of the dome. In any case, these leaves stop curling in the coolness of the afternoon, and at that hour, as a rule, there is no wind capable of blowing them off.

Then, the men climb upon the framework to cover up ampytapyk, that is to say, the upper part of the house. They are assisted in this work by the young women and the girls, who lift up the Heliconia leaves and hand them to the men. These leaves are laid down in such a way that they cover the framework of beams and rods, hanging from their folded stems (pakavaka, "to fold") which are doubled over the two highest longitudinal poles lying on each side of the ridge piece. The tips of the stems are secured between the second series of longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. In the case of large houses, such as house a, for example, a second layer of leaves hangs from the second series of longitudinal poles, with the tips of their stems inserted between the third longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. The stems are laid side by side until all the spaces between the vertical rods have been filled. The crest itself is covered with "wild banana" leaves laid lengthwise along the ridgepole, so that their longitudinal halves conform to those of the dome.

Green macaba leaves are placed over the "wild banana" leaves, with their stems jutting over the top and tied together. These palm leaves, which are quite heavy when green, prevent the foliage underneath from being blown off by the wind or curled up by the sun.

The lower part of the longitudinal sides of the house is covered with macaba leaves which are fastened to the framework from the outside being laid out side by side with their stems pointing upward and interwoven. "Wild banana" leaves are placed over them, fastened to the longitudinal poles in the same fashion as those hanging from the higher longitudinal poles. This thatching system is usually applied to the two smaller sides of the house, since leaves held on a cord by their notched stems would fall off for lack of support from these vertical, uncurved walls. The "cord technique" is not used in thatching the takana, either, for the lower part of this large structure remains open (see Photos. 68 and 69), while the upper part is covered in the same manner as the corresponding section of other houses, with as many layers as needed.

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 257 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 69). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [952] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 [342] appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do-352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against 415 the wall, there are Kamairahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 415 [251] bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quantities of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and [342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low, [344] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the 354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

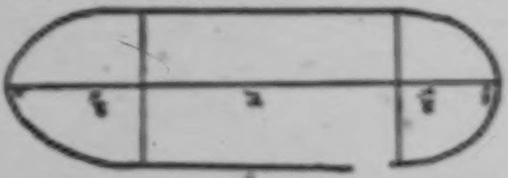

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

5/2 Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

[231] [136] The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly, and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.

[345]

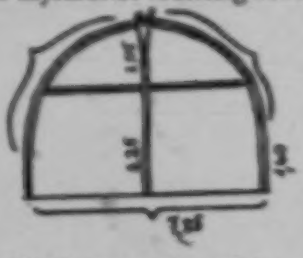

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The [516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

512 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating
cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infancy are used to the
[231] role of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog
walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic
possibilities. The large jars of *cauí* are closed tight, however,
[251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates
from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire.
Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the
whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that
is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be
said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and
this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two
or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is
true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after
dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the *takana*,
speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed
for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to
sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the
smoke, which would come in [110:198] and accumulate, unable
to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to
stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over
my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed
in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (Anopheles brand)
and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times.
The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any
reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded
up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated vertically
from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse
of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I
shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human
spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again
under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down
the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend
Tampiitaua against nocturnal Kayapó attacks. All of a sudden, a
[155] roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two
sorcerers--medicine men, Kamairahó, and Urukumy, are commonly
consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds
associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

92 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire,
[462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their
[283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the
[345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Boróro married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

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361 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between Tupinambá villages and Tampiitaua in the arrangement of the

171/ houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central 361/ plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

361/ 621/ 616 [111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrangement of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauhó dance, which [535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The [622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591/ 114 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matrilocal. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and
40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the
husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and
the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d,
lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother
(the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8)
couple 86 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is,
the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the
wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not per-
mit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patri-
local pattern among the Tapirapé in 1936, nor do they contribute
any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were former-
ly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p.
108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings
around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the
comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and
similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the
Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf.
Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von
den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the *takana*
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3,
462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all
but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the
Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a
fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; *Dialogos*
114 *das grandezas do Brazil* [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

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slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (278), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

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The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

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The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture. Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marckantó, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

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The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

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In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors. The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

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The small bench was an article of which only one specimen existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetö, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-86), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool holixá (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetö and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

174 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (494) has uapicatuua or
352 uapicatyua for "bench," and uapicaua for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

171 352 554 As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc. cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 62.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter. [574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchsonization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 562 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[534] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 22). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 21). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 52) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
572 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

572 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his
diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
572 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs,
they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light,
for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently
seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 180), the
fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

514 In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[515] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression haa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
[192] is aakurág in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
361 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

331 364 infested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[134] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[135] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (150-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Araters by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Araters gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning" [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavê, anauê, and arauê with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[illegible] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

[73] 96 other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their north- ern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in [97] 96 the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

Chapter 8

[112:51] Subsistence

222 The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocaryum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirape) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, 224 February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kamchowani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapoió ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

411 The bow (ypirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tamaô or tamayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made [53] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as — 171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to 411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which 439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluô) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

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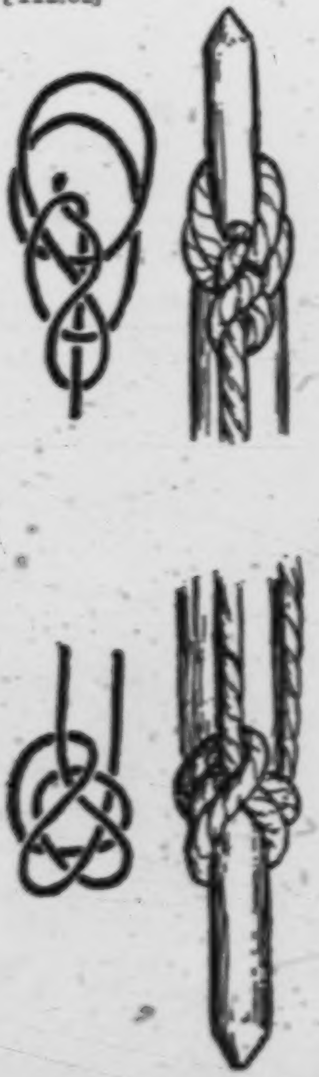

Fig. 13. Knots holding the bow cord.

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Berotomandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe [101] than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

171/411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This [314] piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[297] The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

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411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (*vuamé*)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (*pepá* or "wing," *pe* meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and *pa* meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (*inimá*). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast f feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (*vuatachimeakáua*), more than than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (*2*, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

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531 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393) decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. [462] [252] The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

171
314 Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou" which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227
411 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (*3*, 9, 33), the feathering
411 of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-
Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (*ibid.*, Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (*2*, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower
114 (*aubí*, *obirú*) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game
171 called *anarkánted-uohú*, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says
411 he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and
524 game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

This author (*2*, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a
114 weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth
171 of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (*gohordé*)
411 of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. *ibid.*, Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (*ibid.*, 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (*ibid.*, 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (*ibid.*, 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (*ibid.*, Fig. 246).

171 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (*yvyrá*, "stick," the generic term
411 for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (*1*, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both
specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to
a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they
held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely
to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the day-
time dances. They were displayed to make clear the character
of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompany-
ing chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors
stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their
Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that
is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march be-
tween the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another spe-
cialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who
are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
411 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
[439] references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibiráhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my,
"spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel
showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to
those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their
171 dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of
pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are
secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers
the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters,
while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "*A
civilização dos indios de Goyaz*" [The Civilization of the Goiás
Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind
(or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding.
The Karajá told Krause (*loc. cit.*) that in olden times, when the
spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the
animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (*2*, 390) writes
that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the
course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134,
143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in
the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the
burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving
hunting conditions. Krause (*2*, 247) got the same explanation from
the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclina-
tion for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the
fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the
fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like,
for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus
1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (*chavuana*) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were
immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them
even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
231 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of
the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245
171 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
231 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
Ampaneá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[649] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den
Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann
(255).

I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the fol-
224 lowing custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel:
the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks,
corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where
they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each
stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal
in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among
the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian
Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias
genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my
presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang,
while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz,
once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto
hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs
had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had
been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
-535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or
whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also
a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement,
the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs
were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as
such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the *chankui*,
that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the
Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch,
abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred
to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about
the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned
dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October.
During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many
places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to
crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The
latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off
artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and
267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces
and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called *chimá*
in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine,
and call the procedure *anchimaká*. The water turns a purplish blue.
Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which
sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters,
but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man.
[Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large
barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with
one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a
paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (*chekiá*) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32).
Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the
water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy
for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiá-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiá-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to 501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The 171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect 501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux *2*, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen *2*, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause *2*, 276), but not from the Kayapó (*ibid.*, 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain [192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, *yana*, written *yara* by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of *y*, 'water,' and *iara*, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.' " In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

787 As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed 776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí 226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the *anchinga* would be able to eat them [535] in large quantities. The name *anchinga* is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the *anchinga* who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This [182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] *anchinga*, *chankuí* [a bird], and *irangchá* [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators *par excellence*. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

241 171 The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

241 [221] [171] [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by incising them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

171 241 [113:193] The following note by Steere (385) refers to the Yamamadí, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the stone ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (575) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the
method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large
trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed
by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and
in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old
plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was
used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire
was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by
the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess
them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the
Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well
(kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da
Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language]
as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and
by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have
[177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to
sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to
them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening
stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of
foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of
all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas).
The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used 476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around [461] them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tediousness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the 221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more 241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, cará [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc, 244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to [412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of cará knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize, 241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century
171 Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they
512 work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the *apachirú*, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (*ibid.*): "The males customarily clear the forest growth,
171 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-
462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (*2*, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and *cará*, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause *ibid.* and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen *2*, 214; Max Schmidt *2*, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg *2*, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (*loc. cit.*) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113; 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (*loc. cit.*), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals
231 aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

There were no vestiges of a pair of

231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[649] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of these bugs. This does not mean that they ate anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyranchampokdinia,
[192] which corresponds to the guirâ capucaya listed in the Vocabulário da lingua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 198 is omitted.]

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua.
In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like
Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals,
and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds.
The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green
macaw (*Ara chloroptera* Gray, *arana* in Tapirapé), much rarer
in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (*Ara
ararauna* Lin., *kaniné* in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red
feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue
and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé,
171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar-
235 rival to the Araguaiá a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded
in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from
50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-
green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with
499 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of
trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles
[412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz *tembetá*,
[241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role
in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron
tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé
that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after
they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools
among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably
have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to
intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned,
797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with
[412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every
year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the
necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case,
since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products
of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay at-
tention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This
437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade
123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collec-
tion, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to
raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185] The Diet

The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the 262 824 Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Souza 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of pre- 171 252 paring the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Souza 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 252 and *cauí* [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the *tipiti* among the Tupinambá of the *capitania* [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The [174] use of the same procedure and the absence of *tipiti* among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed.; the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the 262 824 Tapirapé, called *vuaykyra*, reaches more than 30 centimeters in circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the [252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas* Lam., *chetyka* in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple *cará* (*Dioscorea* spec., *uruká-ampaí* in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white *cará* with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white *cará*, which was imported from the Whites as is shown
by its Tapirapé name of *mayrangkanakuera* (*mayra*, "White man";
kaná, "*cará*"; *kuera*, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third
Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called *kanachinga* or
"white *cará*" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which
is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters
long, and as tasteless as *mairangkanakuera*; (5) a yam that reaches
60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (*Alocasia* spec.,
iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various *cará*; (7) a
smaller yam called *uvanchaira* in Tapirapé. It is a known fact
that the sweet potato and the *cará* plants are autochthonous to
America, while the yams are imported (cf. ~~Hoehne~~ 2, 187). The
Tapirapé assert that they cultivated *iampokumaé* in remote times
and remember having received *uvanchaira* from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and wrote its name as *jettiki*. The Tupi term was entered in the
824 vernacular as *jetica* (*Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua*
192 *Portuguesa* [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language],
5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary,
[114:189] listed *iutyca* as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the
Tapirapé plant *chetyka* only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph
is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc,
they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire
year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were
considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than
in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term *chatá* or *tatá*, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they
cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua
I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé
and for this reason called *tatahô*, that is, the generic term plus
the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the *banana da terra*
824 (*Musa paradisiaca* L., *normalis* subspec.). During my first stay
with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I,
too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits,
with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as
those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and
hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe.
Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and
turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on
wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas
grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did
the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den
Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they
are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action
of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the
tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it
with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates
into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the
taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing
when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside
and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already
quite juicy.

(2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
262 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated
824 with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green.
The Tapirapé name for this fruit is *tatampiringó*. Its
length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters.
My *camarada* called it "purple banana," asserting that
among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It
is probably *Musa paradisiaca* L., *sapientum* subspec., *rubra* var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference,
whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose
green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it *inanchanyní*.

(4) The banana called *abãbakíngamaé* by the Tapirapé is yellow
both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the *tatah´*
banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, *tatanchova*. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) *Tatakyra* is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the *banana ouro* (*regia* variety of the *sapientum* subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

114 171 824 [114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (*ibid.*, 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling *chatá* or *tatá*.

262 824 It is worth noting that the *paankuá* of the Tapirapé also plays a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call *ampí*, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The *mangabeira* (*Hancornia speciosa* Gomes, *mangaua* in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso
and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by
my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a
cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a
pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the
pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of
walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2),
auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in
Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed.,
the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first
paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
824 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
[462] maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[241] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems
to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's
first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
171 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
244 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (*1*, 21-22 and Table 190; *2*). Like it, the Tapirapé *monoví* differs
244 from the "common peanut" (*Arachis hypogaea*) in its size, which
is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length
and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1,
22), each specimen of *Arachis nambyquarae* may yield from 50 to
100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my
favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (*2*, 241-242,
358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá,
Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the
Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing
hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts
among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small
quantities. Their Tapirapé name, *kumaná*, corresponds to *comendá*
in Soares de Sousa (200) and *cumandá* in Montoya (*2*, II, 105v) and
Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé
bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] *Phaseolus lunatus* L. and
thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by
Anchieta (Hoehne *2*, 107), Thevet (*ibid.*, 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (*ibid.*, 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small
earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this
skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called *kumaná-yvyraí*, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name *anduzeiro*. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the *Cytisus cajanus* Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with
pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes
until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name
is *koruanchoa*, *choa* (or *chova*) referring to the color yellow. The
neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name *croá* which,
according to the *Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa*,
5th edition, is synonymous with *cruá*, *crauá*, and *melão-caboclo*
(*Sicana odorifera* Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's
Nheẽngatú vocabulary (435), *curúua* is "a kind of squash covered
with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of *Saccharum officinarum* L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[177] import. Krause (*2*, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw
was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians:
"... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably
would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is
wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the
Tapirapé from asking for my *rapadura* [Tr., raw brown sugar in
lumps].

These Indians make *beiju* (*meijú* or *mãjú* in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or
maize flour. According to Ayrosa (*1*, 54), the word "*mbeiú* or
mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,'
etc." The same author (*ibid*., 51-54) lists several varieties of this
cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé
beijú is similar in shape to the so-called *beiju-açú*, which is a
large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday
food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This
was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They
placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca,
made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the
takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as *byyw*.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians
to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special
implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at
the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either.
[Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114
are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.[1] [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German
Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and
Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by
authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in
Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in
kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den
Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing
drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the
remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as
crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No
other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such
soups are made, for example, with cará or yams. [Ed., the last
paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton
seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a
yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
252 boiled into a mush which they call *mingau*."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the *monoví-
272 kauí* was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself
took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and
developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the
people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the
first wish I expressed was this, "*Monoví-kauí*." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
171 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash,
incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century
Portuguese author (*ibid*., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called
gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called *kuruá-kauí*. *Kuruá* may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them,
in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé *kauí* are crumbled or mashed by the women in three
different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and
between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands;
maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then
sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts,
and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, *amatykú*
[192] means "I chew," and *andjahák*, "I pound." [Ed., the last
paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are
omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make *cauí*, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which
they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[853] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing
children. These children are also given true *cauí*. It is to be
supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that
takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to
the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on
p. 259 and p. 260, whibh concludes the section in Vol. 115, are
omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages
in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add
to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat
the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124,
Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the
first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the
first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare *cauí* from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan *near* the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... *auch wohl um die Gährung zu beförden den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt*"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The *cauí* of
the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either
warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my
arrival in Tampiitáua in 1947, when my little friend Ampitánia ful-
filled my wish by serving me *monoví-kauí*, I took it in the manner
most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
[123] and hot. Ampitánia demonstrated her affection by filling up a
truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated
[773] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the
171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship
272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants
[192] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafèzinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cottonseed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the 272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but 252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is *avũn* in Tapirapé, "I roast," *aihyn*, and "I broil," [192] *amakaé*. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in 171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin- 252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (*ibid.*, 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (*ibid.*, 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4, [117:92] l 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 25) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 30). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is
fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to
[251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) observed
[354] among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl
von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The
men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the
Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus
7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the
Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the
men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever
necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those
Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them
heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from
the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from
other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals
is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close
to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a
paragraph is omitted.]

With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary,
124 and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants
of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed
to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in
Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais.
Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna]
(Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much
pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of
establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible,
since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts,
and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals.
Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian
to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to
[117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and
habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the 128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected [925] by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

136 differences in size and general appearance between these two
262 rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (25) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix *ho* when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (*ibid.*). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix *i*, that is, *kuanoí*, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) *kereroá* -- rice rat (*Calomys* *longicaudatus*). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 21.

(9) *anuchá* -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) *anochaó* -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix *o* is augmentative.

(11) *Vuavedeí* -- *serelepe* [Tr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (*Sciurus* spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) *kuanoí* -- porcupine (*Coendu* spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) *ampereá* -- *cavy* (*Cavia* *aperea*). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 25.

(14) *ankuchí*, *akutí* -- agouti (*Dasyprocta* spec.). Eaten.

[171] (15) *kanoanó* -- paca (*Coelogenys* *paca*). Eaten. It is interesting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word *paca*. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) *angkampíyvuana* -- capybara (*Hydrochoerus* *capybara*). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (*1*, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) *ypiravuira* -- white porpoise (*Inia* *geoffroyensis*). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives *pirayaguara* as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

136 (18) *auvaná* -- *agouara* (*Canis jubatus*). Not eaten.

262 The Tapirapé were not familiar with the wild dog depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 40.

(19) *koandji* -- coati (*Nasua narica*). Eaten.

(20) *eirana* -- tayra (*Tayra barbara*). Eaten by the men.

(21) *mykura*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the *zorrilho* [Tr., a conepate] depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 45. It is known, however, that *mycura* or *mucura* is the name given in the Amazon to marsupials of the *Didelphys* genus called *gambá* in the south of the country (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). The Tapirapé were not familiar with the opossum (*Didelphys aurita*) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 1. The Tapirapé do not eat the animal they call *mykura*.

(22) *chauatanangka* -- giant river otter (*Pteronura brasiliensis*). Not eaten.

(23) *chauvuanohó* -- jaguar (*Felis onza*). Eaten by the men. This Tapirapé word covers both the spotted and the black jaguars. In Tapirapé, *chauvuana* means "dog" (*Canis familiaris*), *ho* being the augmentative suffix.

[117:97]

(24) *chauvuápinima* -- spotted jaguar.

(25) *chauangpytyngó* -- cougar (*Felis concolor*). Eaten by the men.

(26) *manangganchaí* -- wild cat (*Felis* spec.). Eaten by the men.

(27) *tampiira* -- tapir (*Tapirus americanus*). Eaten by the men.

(28) *chinguá* -- *catêto* or *caitetu* [Tr., a wild pig] (*Dicotyles tayassu*). Eaten. The Yekuaná do not eat the tongue, heart, or brains of this animal, which is their favorite game (Koch-Grünberg *2*, III, 335-336). Among the Tapirapé, however, I found persons who greatly appreciated the brains (cf. Baldus *7*, 95).

(29) *tanchahó* -- white-lipped peccary (*Dicotyles albirostris*). Eaten.

(30) *opokú* -- marsh deer (*Dorcelaphus dichotomus*). Eaten by men who do not have small children.

(31) *ochinga* -- savanna deer (*Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus*). Eaten by the men. I found its meat very dry.

(32) *mianá* -- brocket (*Mazama americana*). Eaten.

[117:98]

(33) anakuahó -- brocket (Mazama simplicicornis). Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the hairy saki or fox-tailed monkey (Pithecia monachus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 66.

(34) antamaní -- saki (species?) Eaten by the men.

(35) yaí -- ring-necked titi (Callicebus torquatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 71).

(36) kaí -- capuchin monkey (Cebus spec.) Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I ate its meat often and found it good either boiled or roasted.

(37) kai-ió -- howling monkey (Allouatta spec.). Eaten by the men. (kaí: cf. No. 36.)

(38) kokykoky - spider monkey (Ateles spec.) Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 76. [Ed., end of Vol. 117.]

[118:117] BIRDS

(39) vuyrá, uyrá -- bird in general. Many kinds of birds are eaten only by the men. The Tapirapé Kamaira listed 97 bird names for my companion F.C. Kegel.

(40) vuyranchampokáinia -- domestic chicken. Eaten.

(41) chanoó -- rhea (Rhea americana). Eaten by the men.

(42) oró -- capueira partridge (Odontophorus spec.). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 79.

(43) muitú -- curassow (Crax spec.). The Tapirapé distinguish the sexes, calling the male muitunoó because it is larger than the female, which is spotted in contrast to the male and hence called muitupinima. Eaten.

[118:118]

(44) inomó -- tinamou (Crypturus spec.). Eaten.

(45) changkú -- guan (Penelope spec.). Eaten. The guan is relatively abundant on the Araguaia, easy to hunt, and the favorite dish of the Tapirapé.

(46) tepangkuá -- tinamou (Crypturus noctivagus). Eaten.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the doves depicted by R. von Ihering in Figs. 85 and 86.

136 (b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the white-faced tree-
262 duck (*Dendrocygna viduata*) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 87.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the horned screamer (*Palamedea cornuta*) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 88.

(47) *uyrahó* -- jabiru (*Mycteria mycteria*). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé name means literally "large bird." I found its meat strongly redolent of fish.

(48) *mauaní* -- American stork (*Euxenura maguari*). Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the bird depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 91, which therefore belongs to the Ciconidae and not to the Ardeidae family.

(49) *vuaná*-- roseate spoonbill (*Ajaja ajaja*). Eaten.

(50) *akakó* -- wood rail (species?) The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw *Aramides saracura* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 99 and asserted that the men eat this bird of the Rallidae family.

[118:119]

(51) *karakaraka* -- *tapicurú* [Tr., an ibis]. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé thought that this bird of the Ibididae family, which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, resembles the wood rail in Fig. 99, although it has a longer beak. I liked its meat. My companion, Mr. Kegel, found it very "oily."

(52) *anangkura* - *seriema* (*Microdactylus cristatus*). Eaten by the men. When I recorded this Tapirapé word, its similarity to *saracura* [Tr., Portuguese for No. 50] led me to think that a confusion had been made between the two wading birds depicted in R. von Ihering's book one beside the other. But the Tapirapé removed my doubts, and in any case I found in Kissenberths (*2*, 59) short Tapirapé vocabulary the word *arãkorí* with the German translation *Strausfsart*, that is, "kind of ostrich," which can only be the *seriema* since this author (*ibid.*) gives the same Tapirapé word for "rhea," with a slight difference in spelling, as I listed under No. 41 above.

(53) *vuangká* -- *biguá-tinga* [Tr., a darter] (*Plotus anhinga*). Eaten.

(54) *yrevú pevó* -- common or black vulture (*Catharista atratus brasiliensis*). Not eaten.

(55) *yrevú chingú* -- king vulture (*Gypagus papa*). Not eaten.

(56) *yrevú ampaá* -- red-headed vulture (*Cathartes aura*). Not eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

(57) *tampiikyvanchinga* -- caracara (*Milvago chimachima* or similar species). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 104.

(58) *tamyngó* -- *carancho* [Tr., a hawk] (*Polyborus tharus* or similar species). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 105.

(59) *pypypypyó* -- harpy eagle (*Thrasaetus harpyia*). Eaten by the men.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the burrowing owl depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 107.

(60) *urukureá* -- striped owl (species?). Eaten by grown men. The name given by the Tapirapé was known to the sixteenth century Tupi of Bahia.

[118:120]

(61) *vuantori(n)iá* -- hoatzin (*Opisthocomus cristatus*). Only old people eat this bird after removing its skin, which is also done by the few neo-Brazilians who do not scorn its flesh, for the hoatzin is also called *catingueiro* [stinker] by the frontiersmen owing to its penetrating odor. The Tapirapé use the word *ikanchíng*, "stinking," in referring to it. This bird abounds on the banks of the Tapirapé and middle Araguaia, and it is easy to hunt because it is clumsy and slow. These Indians kill it to feather their arrows with its plumes. Not mentioned in R. von Ihering's book.

(62) *ypekú* -- woodpecker in general. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé use this name not only for the climbing birds of the Picidae family, but also the bird of the Dendrocolaptidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 132.

(63) *chryvá* -- motmot (*Momotus* spec.). Eaten by adults.

(64) *tatauantí* -- kingfisher (*Ceryle* spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(65) *vuainomy* -- hummingbird in general. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 112, 114-116.

(66) *yvychangó* -- *taperá* [Tr., a swallow]. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw *Chaetura cinereiventris* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 117.

(67) *urutauí* -- potoo (*Nyctibius* spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the ringed nighthawk depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 118, a bird belonging to a different genus but to the same Caprimulgideae family.

(68) *tuichinga* -- parakeet. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé gave this name, which means "white *tuí* [parakeet]" when they

saw the Pyrrhura vittata in R. von Ihering's Fig. 119. They were not familiar with the parakeet (Psittacula passerina) depicted in Fig. 123.

[118:121]

(69) arana -- scarlet macaw (Ara spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(70) kaniné -- blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna). Eaten by grown men. Among the Tapirapé, I several times ate the tough flesh of this bird which does not become tender even when boiled for a long time.

(71) anchoró -- parrot (Amazona spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave me this word when they saw the Amazona aestiva in R. von Ihering's Fig. 121.

(72) tokynó -- toucan (Rhamphastus spec.). Eaten.

(73) pyichiva -- a kind of "small toucan," smaller than tokynó. Eaten.

(74) aní -- common ani (Crotophaga ani). Eaten by men and boys. R. von Ihering's Fig. 125.

(75) anachychyryó -- quiriru [Tr., guira cuckoo] (Octopteryx guira). Eaten by men and boys.

(76) pytauvuyó -- bem-te-vi [Tr., tyrant-flycatcher family] (Pitangus sulphuratus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 127.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the cagassebinho [Tr., a small tyrant bird] represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 128.

(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ant shrike (Thamnophilus caerulescens), a bird of the Formicariideae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 129.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 130.

(d) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the spine-tail (Synallaxis spixi) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 131.

(e) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the oven-bird (Furnarius rufus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 134.

(77) aviá -- thrush (Turdus spec.). But the Tapirapé were not familiar with the dusky thruth (Turdus amaurochalinus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 135.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the yellow sugarbird (Callospiza flava) in R. Ihering's Fig. 139.

[118:122]

(78) ancoíchinghó -- oriole (Xanthomus jamacai). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 141.

(79) *angkaé* -- jay (*Uroleuca cyanoleuca* or *Cyanocorax* spec.?). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 142.

(80) *champohú* -- *japu* [Tr., oriole family] (*Ostinops decumanus*). Eaten by grown men. A large bird of the Icteridae family. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

REPTILES

(81) *changkané* -- alligator in general. Eaten by the men. I ate meat from the tail of a grown alligator on the Araguaia, and found it pleasantly tender and so characteristic that it did not recall either fish or the flesh of any mammal.

(82) *chauvatí-pevoí* -- *cágado* [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle]. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw *Hydrispis hilarii* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 147. They eat the flesh and the eggs.

(83) *chauvatió* -- turtle. Eaten. This word, which means "large turtle," was given on seeing the *tartaruga do mar* [literally, "sea turtle"] (*Talassochelis carreta*) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 149. It is probable, however, that the word referred to the *tartaruga da Amazônia* (*Podocnemis expansa*).

(a) I did not get the Tapirapé word for the *tracajá* [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle] (*Podocnemis cayennensis*) which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, but I saw the inhabitants of Tampiitáua eat one of those small chelonians which they had caught when it climbed the sandy river bank in order to lay eggs. The entire animal was roasted in the embers with its eggs alongside.

(84) *chauvatí-été* -- *jaboti* [Tr., a fruit-eating tortoise] (*Testudo tabulata*). Eaten. I found its flesh very flabby when I ate it on the Tapirapé river bank.

[118:123]

(85) *chauvachí-amperanchí* -- *matamata* (*Chelys fimbriata*). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 151.

(86) When they saw the limbless lizard (*Amphisbaena alba*) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 153, the Tapirapé merely said *maiá* or *máia*, their word for snakes in general. They said that they do not eat this animal.

(87) *taná* -- small lizard. Not eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name for *Hemidactyeus mabuia* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 154, as well

as to *Diploglossus fasciatus* in Fig. 155.

(88) *amereva* -- *mabuia agilis*. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 157.

(a) The Tapirapé were unfamiliar with the teioid (*Microblepharus maximiliani*) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 158.

(89) *chichuputereva* -- teju (*Tupinambis teguixin*). Not eaten.

(90) *anemy* -- iguana (*Iguana tuberculata*). Eaten by grown men.

(91) *kamechoránia*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the *papavento* [Tr., lizard of iguana family] (*Anolis punctatus*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 161. They said that they do not eat it.

(92) *kovianá* -- *truira-peva* [Tr., small lizard of iguana family (*Hoplocercus spinosus*). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 164.

(93) *maichiningó* -- rattlesnake (*Crotalus terrificus*). Not eaten.

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(94) *maiayva* -- *jararaca* [Tr., pit viper] (*Lachesis lanceolatus*). Not eaten.

(95) *okumaní*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the "false coral" (*Oxyrhopus trigeminus*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 181 and the "true coral" (*Micrurus corallinus*) in Fig. 183 of the same author. Not eaten.

(96) *urukukú* -- bushmaster (*Lachesis mutus*). Not eaten.

(97) *maioó* -- anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word means literally "large snake." It is the largest snake in the world. R. von Ihering's Fig. 185.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the harmless *cobra-nova* (*Drymobius bifossatus*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 186.

(98) *machukyry*. The Tapirapé gave this term when they saw the tree snake (*Chironius*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 187, and said that they do not eat this animal.

AMPHIBIANS

(99) *tayra*. The Tapirapé gave this word, which is used by sons to designate their fathers, when they saw the tadpoles represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 191, the butterfly larva in Fig. 464, and the butterfly chrysalid in Fig. 465. They said that they eat the tadpoles.

(100) *choí* -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw *Nototrema fissipes* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 192.

(101) *kororó* -- toad (*Bufo marinus*). Not eaten.

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(102) *chyioó* -- horned frog (*Ceratophrys* spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 196.

(103) *vuavá* -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw *Leptodactylus caliginosus* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 197.

(104) *mantereva*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the frog (*Dendrobates tinctorius*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 198. They added that they do not eat this batrachian.

(105) *kurtáua* -- small tree toad (*Hyla* spec.). Eaten by the men.

(106) *choipapevó* -- frog (*Phyllomedusa* spec.). Eaten by the men. [Ed., end of Vol. 118.]

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FISH

(107) *xpirá* -- fish in general. My traveling companion, Reverend F.C.Kegel, gathered 54 Tapirapé names for fish.

(108) *chavevuyra* -- fresh-water ray in general. Eaten.

(109) *pirampokó* -- literally, "long fish." This is what the Tapirapé call the barracuda (*Sphyraena barracuda*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 224, asserting that they eat this marine fish, which also goes into fresh waters according to what I was told by Dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

(110) *ampakochingó*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the look-down (*Selene vomer*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 225, and they added that they eat this animal. No doubt they confused it with another fish, for Dr. Leitão de Carvalho told me that this marine fish does not go into fresh waters, which do, however, contain similar species.

(111) *chauevychanché*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the flounder (*Achiurus lineatus*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 227, adding that they eat this fish, which goes into fresh waters, according to Dr. Leitão de Carvalho. R. von Ihering himself (158)

asserts that there are flounders which are "perfectly adapted to fresh water and found as far as the upper Amazon and Mato Grosso." The Tapirapé word seems to be made up of *chavevuyra*, "ray" (cf. No. 108) and *chancé*, "father's sister" (as said by the men), thus meaning "ray's paternal aunt." This hypothesis becomes more reasonable when we consider that both fishes have a thoroughly flattened body and both live at the bottom of the water with their white side facing down and the side where the eyes are located facing up. It is also appropriate to recall that the Kaingang word for the centipede means, literally, "snake's father-in-law" (Baldus *11*, 157).

(112) *mairampeyá*. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the swellfish (*Spheroides spengleri*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 234, and [119-80] they added that they eat this marine fish. According to the same author (*ibid*., 158), there are swellfish adapted to fresh water in the Amazon and in Mato Grosso.

(113) *moó*. The Tapirape gave this word when they saw the moray eel (*Lycodontis moringa*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 248, and said that, among them, the men eat this animal. They probably confused this marine fish with the snake eel (*Symbranchus marmoratus*) which looks very much like the moray eel and lives in fresh water.

(114) *purangké* -- electric eel (*Electrophorus electricus*). Eaten by the men.

(115) *chechoó* -- *piracuru* [Tr., or *pirarucu*, a giant Amazon fish] (*Arapaima gigas*). Eaten by the men.

(116) *chechó*. This small fish, highly prized by the Tapirapé, is probably the *jeju* (*Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus*). In Chapter 5, I alluded to the possibility that this Tapirapé word may be part of the name of the village Chechotáua. As for the relationship between *chechó* and *chechoó*, that is, "big *chechó*," one should mention what Stradelli (467) noted about those two scaled fresh-water fish of such divergent size. According to this author, the fishermen of the lower Amazon say that the *jeju* is the best bait for catching *pirarucu* with the book. Would this indicate a magical relationship?

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the catfish (*Paulicea lütkni*) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 259.

(117) *oroví* - *sorubim* (*Pseudoplatystoma corruscans*). Eaten.

136 (118) tauvanuá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw
262 the river catfish (Pseudopimelodus zungaro) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 261, and stated that they eat this fish.

(119) tororopy. This is what the Tapirapé called the spotted fresh-water catfish (Pimelodus clarias) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 262, stating that they eat this fish.

(120) chaniá -- small catfish (Pimelodus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 263.

(121) itaiaí -- cambeva [Tr., a catfish] (Pygidium brasiliensis). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 264.

(122) chaniauhó -- fresh-water catfish (Pimelodella brasiliensis). Cf. No. 120, chaniá. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 265.

(123) atavachipeva -- mailed catfish (Loricaria spec.). Eaten.

(124) moró -- mailed catfish (Plecostumus spec.). Eaten.

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(125) amoatá -- armored catfish (Callichthys spec.). Eaten. According to Plínio Ayrosa (4, 148) "the meaning of this name is probably to be found in the variant camboatá, from kaábo-atá, 'one that walks through the forest,' because these fish, which are supplied with richly vascular hairlike appendages serving for respiratory purposes, can move about freely on land when they intend to move from one waterway to another." It is proper, however, to raise the possibility of a relationship between the Tapirapé words amoatá and amatáua, since the latter, meaning "mustache," may allude to the fish's barbs. In any case, the Tapirapé catch and value the tamboatá, and they have a dance that deals with it.

(126) amoataú. The Tapirapé gave this name to the cuiúcuiú (Doras marmoratus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 271, and asserted that they eat it. This fish, distinguished from the amoatá by its augmentative suffix, resembles it in that it also has barbs and also moves about on land.

(127) anampá -- fresh-water eel (Carapus fasciatus). Eaten by the men.

(128) antangkopaná -- pirá-tamanduá [Tr., pirá is the Tupi word for "fish," and tamanduá for "anteater"] (Sternarchus curvirostris). Eaten.

(129) akná -- acará [Tr., a fresh-water cichlid] (Geophagus brasiliensis). Eaten.

(130) *changkoná* -- *jacundá* [Tr., a cichloid fish] (*Crenicichla* spec.). Eaten.

(131) *tukunaré* -- *tucunaré* (*Cichla* spec.). Eaten. This fish, reaching half a meter in length, is among those most highly valued by the Tapirapé and is killed by them with bow and arrow. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(132) *vuananaó* -- *corumbatá* (*Prochilodus* spec.). Eaten.

(133) *vuananaí*. The Tapirapé gave this diminutive form of the word listed under No. 132 when they saw the *chimboré* (*Anostomus kneri*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 279, next to his Fig. 278 which depicts the *corumbatá* [No. 132]. Indeed, head excluded, there are many similarities between these two fish as represented here, Fig. 278 being slightly larger than the other. The Tapirapé asserted that they eat *vuananaí*.

(134) *ipiáua* -- *piava* [Tr., a small fresh-water fish] (*Leporinus* spec.). Eaten.

(135) *ipirápechova* -- *lambari-guaçu* [Tr., *lambari* is a Tupi word for "minnow"; *guaçu* is a Tupi augmentative suffix]. Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this word, which literally signifies "flat yellow fish," when they saw *Tetragonopterus rutilus* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 282.

[119:82]

(136) *pekakuhama* -- *lambari-mirim* [Tr., *mirim* is a Tupi diminutive suffix] (*Characidium fasciatum*). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 283.

(137) *aikyngapeva* -- dog-fish or *saincanga* (*Acestrorhamphus hepsetus*). Eaten.

(138) *tanayra* -- *traíra* [Tr., lungfish?] (*Hoplias malabaricus*). Eaten.

(139) *ipiránionó* -- piranha in general (*Pygocentrus* and *Serrassalmus* genera). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 288.

MOLLUSKS

(140) *ity* -- shellfish in general.

(141) *champoroá*. This word was given by the Tapirapé when they saw *Planorbis peregrinus* in R. von Ihering's Fig. 316. Not eaten.

136
262 (142) tatytá -- Strophocheilus oblongus. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 321.

CRUSTACEANS

(143) machiy -- fresh-water shrimp (Bithynis spec.). Eaten.

(144) vuananó -- fresh-water crab in general, literally, "large crab." Eaten.

(145) vuapema. This word, which means literally "flat crab," was given when the Tapirapé saw the guaiá das pedras (Panopaeus herbstti) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 356. They asserted that they eat this crab.

ARACHNOIDS

136
262 (146) china. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the scorpion (Tytius bahiensis) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 362, and asserted that they do not eat it.

(147) chanó -- spider in general. Not eaten. The Tapirapé are familiar with several of the spiders depicted in R. von Ihering's book, without [119:83] identifying them, however, with specific names. They call the spider web chanóini, ini being also the word for "hammock."

(148) tantevoga -- tick in general. Not eaten (except for those taken directly from the human body). The Tapirapé made no distinctions among the ticks depicted by R. von Ihering.

MYRIAPODS

(149) amoévaí -- millipede (Leptodesmus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 390.

(150) amoá -- millipede (Rhinocricus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 391.

(151) chapeauá -- centipede (Scolopendra). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 393.

INSECTS

(152) *tokorí* -- leaping insect in general. Not eaten.

(153) *tokoró ambipém* -- *esperança* (an orthopteran). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 397.

(154) *tokoró*. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the lantern fly (*Fulgora lanternaria*) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 430. I was unable to determine whether they establish a relationship between this homopteron and the insects mentioned under Nos. 152 and 153, or whether a confusion is involved. They asserted that they do not eat this insect.

(155) *kyngeyma* -- twig insect. Phasmida. Not eaten. The Tapirapé word is probably made up of *kynga*, "bone," and *yma*, a negative suffix. This would be quite significant considering the appearance of this insect, which looks like a stick when motionless. R. von Ihering's Fig. 398.

(156) *tiraná* -- praying mantis (*Stagmatoptera predicatoria*). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 399.

(157) *pykapykáua* -- cricket (*Gryllus* spec.). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word [119:84] is related to the generic term for "butterfly," that is, *pykápyká* (cf. No. 170). R. von Ihering's Fig. 400.

(158) *ygechuchauana* -- mole cricket (*Gryllotalpa* spec.). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 401.

(159) *anavé*, *anaué*, *araué* -- cockroach (*Blatella germanica* I.). Not eaten. In Chapter 7 I described the important role played by this insect in the life of the Tapirapé.

(160) *kupií* -- termite in general. Not eaten.

(161) *chichinó* -- dragonfly. The Tapirapé gave this name not only to the *cavalo-de-cão* [Tr., spider wasp] (*Aeschnidae*) in Fig. 412, but also to the neuropteran in Fig. 409. They used the name *chichina* for the ichneumonidan in Fig. 511 and the vespid (*Synoeca*) in Fig. 529. The four insects mentioned are represented with open wings, and this may have led the Indians to find similarities and to give terms distinguished from one another by the augmentative suffix. They asserted that they do not eat these four insects.

(162) *ámpeámpeí*. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word on seeing pictures of insects as diverse as the following ones: psocid (*Atropos*), Fig. 413; thysanopteran, Fig. 415; aquatic bug (*Belostoma*),

136 262 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (*Acanthia lectularia*), Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (*Aphis rosae*), Fig. 428; cicada (*Zammara tympanum*), Fig. 429; buprestidan (*Conognatha*), Fig. 450; meloid (*Lytta*), Fig. 451; brenthid (*Brenthis*), Fig. 452; curculionid (*Heilipus*), Fig. 453; curculionid (*Heilipus*), Fig. 453; curculionid (*Entimus*), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (*Lophnocercus*), 456 and 457; coccinellid (*Neda*), Fig. 458; staphylinid (*Paederus*), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) *kyva* -- head louse (*Pediculus capitis*). These parasites [515] are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, *chekyva*, "my louse," *anenekyva*, "your louse," *ikyva*, "his or her louse."

(164) *inimákyrynga* -- hammock louse (*iní* means "hammock"), probably the body louse (*Pediculus vestimenti*). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it *in flagrante*. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) *mechuá*. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (*Triatoma megistus*) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (*Dysdercus ruficollis*) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) *ypehaga*. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (*Neleus*), Fig. 439; lucanid (*Leptinopterus*), Fig. 440; cetonian (*Gymnetes*), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (*Macrodactylus*), Fig. 443; rutelian (*Pelidnota*), Fig. 444; carabid (*Galerita*), Fig. 445; cicindelid (*Tetracha*), Fig. 446; erotylid (*Cypherotylus*), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) *byrema* -- dynastid (*Coelosis*) and Scarabaeid (*Phanacus*). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

(168) *anerechinga* -- Lymexilonidae (*Atractocerus*). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 448.

(169) *takuereré*, *takuarereka* - firefly in general; *takú* means "hot." Not eaten.

(170) *pykápyká*. The Tapirapé gave this generic name to all the Lepidoptera, butterflies as well as moths, not differentiating among families and species. They also gave the same name when they saw the Membracidae in Figs. 426 and 427 and the trichopteran in Fig. 463. As already mentioned under No. 99, they call larvae and chrysalids *tayra*. In contrast to other native peoples (cf. Thurnwald 106), the Tapirapé are familiar with butterfly metamorphosis. They do not eat these insects at any stage of their life cycle.

(171) *ií* -- small nocturnal blood-sucking mosquito, perhaps a variety of *birigui* [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (*Phlebotomus*).

(a) I did not obtain from the Tapirapé the name for the *mosquito pólvora* [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (*Culicoides* spec.).

(172) *ipió*, *ipioeté* -- gnat (*Simulium* spec.). It is eaten when caught *in flagrante*.

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(173) *ipiochinga* -- *lambe-olhos* [Tr., literally "graze-eye"; a stingless honeybee (*Trigona duckei*). Eaten when caught *in flagrante*. This bee, incidentally the smallest in the world, is not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(174) *tanchió*, *tanchiú* -- *muriçoca* mosquito (*Anopheles* spec.). Eaten when caught *in flagrante*.

(175) *merú*. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw the pictures of the stable fly (*Stomoxys calcitrans*) in Fig. 494, the Stratiomyiidae (*Tachina melanopyga* and *Hermetia illucens*) in Figs. 497 and 498, and the blowfly (*Cochlionvia macellaria*) in Fig. 499. Not eaten..

(176) *mutuka* -- *motuca* fly [horse fly] (*Chrysops* and *Erephopsis*). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 495 and 496.

(177) *iora* -- flea (*Pulex irritans* or *Ctenocephalus canis*?).

(178) *tongá* -- chigoe (*Tunga penetrans*).

136 262 (179) chauanakaó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaó is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahú which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee eí or eirá, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

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(182) kaueauá -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tateí -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) káua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

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or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

171
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2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

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4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

5. Just as these four tribes differ among themselves as far as language is concerned, they also differ as far as their concept of the edible is concerned.

6. The majority of the animals eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the other three tribes are regarded, among these Indians, as exclusively male food.

7. While among the Tapirapé there are numerous mammals and birds, various reptiles, amphibians, and fish which are eaten exclusively by the men, the only male foods among the Karajá are the paca (No. 15), the coati (No. 19), the tapir (No. 27), and the spider monkey (No. 38). As for the paca, which is regarded as excellent meat by many white hunters and which is valued by the Tapirapé and Cherente of both sexes, it is well to recall that among the ancient Kaingang this rodent was eaten only by individuals who were regarded as less vulnerable to supernatural evil forces. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

8. Among the Cherente, also, the number of animals eaten exclusively by the men is small. They are: the bat (No. 1), the howling monkey (No. 37), the jabiru (No. 47), the alligator (No. 81), the teju (No. 89), the iguana (No. 90), and the electric eel (No. 114). Among these animals, the bat is not eaten by any of the other tribes in question; the howling monkey, which Cherente women do not eat "because it looks like people," is also eaten only by the men among the Tapirapé, while among the Kaingang it is eaten only by "some people" and among the Karajá by no one; the jabiru and electric eel are, among the Tapirapé, exclusively male food, while the Karajá do not eat them and the Kaingang are not familiar with them; the alligator, of which Cherente men eat the tail, is eaten among the Tapirapé only by the men while no one eats it among the Karajá and Kaingang; the teju, although its flesh is so tasty to many Whites, is not eaten by either the Tapirapé or the Karajá, and it is eaten by only a few present-day Kaingang; the iguana, which is highly prized by the Karajá, is eaten only by men among the Tapirapé and is unknown to the Kaingang. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

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9. [Ed., the first sentence is omitted.] There is no animal restricted to the women among the Tapirapé, Karajá, or Cherente. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I
262 told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would be-
784 come ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh
is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé
woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by
men. According to Kamairahó, a woman will not eat of such
flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the absten-
tions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the
mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious,
not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the
Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as
a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by
us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship
[562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the
sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko
the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus *1*, 64); (b) Tapirapé
culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c)
important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between
the sexes.

171 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has
262 less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while
it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the *tapiti* (No. 6), the *serelepe* (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the *japu* (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

171 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

226 262 [171] In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the village. [787] They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

[787 since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted,
226] they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main
825 source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the
262 bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their
252 favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the
[263] fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably
accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when
I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did
so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish
without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling
bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour.
A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered
me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed
them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest.
[535] The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish,
and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the
[533] song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish
that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a
[754] disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been
harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into
his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say
[776] that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do
not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with
[772] manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of
the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies
above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case
"very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact
136 that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them *ykaynia* or *ikeynia* is apparently the bush red-pepper (*Capsicum frutescens*, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they [171] do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen *2*, 100), Mehinaku (*ibid.*, 106), Kamayurá (Meyer *1*, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden *9*, 3; Martius *2*, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt 261 and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

[122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint 146 of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (*ibid.*, 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (*ibid.*, 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

262 [122:168] Fortunately, the Tapirapé is also saved by a more varied diet. Manioc flour is usually eaten along with other foods. To give an idea of the variety available at a specific time of the year, I shall list the dishes that were offered to me on the afternoon of June 21, 1935, when I reached Tampiitaua for the first time: two varieties of bananas, warmed and cold; warm and cold peanuts; raw and roasted peanut flour; peanut, maize, and manioc cauí; roasted calabash seeds; boiled and ember-roasted squash, yams, and cará; large boiled green beans; warm manioc flour; small boiled fish; warm manioc soup with small unripe peppers and chicken meat; manioc soup with barbecued fish; the raw and roasted seeds of tucum [Tr., Bactris setosa]; and sugar cane for sucking. Since I did not want to offend anyone, I ate large quantities of each of these delicious dishes in all the village houses that 123 afternoon. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

During my stay in Tampiitaua, I shared largely in the Tapirapé diet and got along well on this almost exclusively vegetarian basis. My digestive apparatus had never functioned as well as it did at the time, and my companion Kegel noticed that after a few weeks of Indian food my face had filled out. In this respect I stood in contrast to our camarada Daniel. This poor frontiersman, who showed his "civilized" status by eating his daily share of rice, occasionally tempered by a piece of game, with punctilious regularity, visibly wasted away. This probably was caused also by the cultural shocks he suffered incessantly, which, as far as food was concerned, were of the same order as those suffered by the Tapirapé when Reverend Kegel opened a can of wieners. A child saw those snake-like forms coming out of the can, ran home, and soon the whole village was there. Each person smelled the can and then spat emphatically to leave no doubt as to the disgust he felt or thought it proper to feel. True, this did not prevent gluttonous Kamairahó from trying a small piece, although with a certain reluctance, from liking it, and asking for more.

Unfortunately, the abundance and variety of foods which I found
262 in Tampiitaua in the months of June to August, 1935, disappeared
178 later. As I wrote in a report to the director of the Indian [122:169] Service, "in 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará, or manioc cake.

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half,
apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens.
Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited
Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen
either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy
salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture
compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the
appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a
new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one
of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went
altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of
them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete
dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
262 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the
increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the
following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only
small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish],
turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the
entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal
source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind
also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes
vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have
to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and
hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently
on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming
increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish,
which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year.
In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther
from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé
felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

171 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aó means "I eat," and ayó "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana
276 tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke
grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally
[249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They
dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in
[415] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in
certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment.
Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing
them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes,
and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the
Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The
171 Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá
276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do
not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruña, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This however, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

171 276 Yvès d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one [155] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

The Life Cycle of the Individual

Birth

192 In Tapirapé, aán means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the [illegible] of the paragraph are omitted.]

[123] [115] 444 I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

844/poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood
846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten-
[849] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years
862 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and
784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years
[752] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten-
[761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé
[165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules.
[755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on manioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

171 The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to
916 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
833 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother s milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also
noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father.
And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit"
is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the
journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were
familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São
Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep
in a hammock in Kamairahõ's house. They did not doubt that I
[123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me
capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded
as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been,
first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy
between this Indian and myself.

Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described
845 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé
842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat
[171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite
sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia,
and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one
skin. Kamairahõ said with reference to such a triple banana that
it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never
heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed
171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while
847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children
and save all those who are born. The way of life of those
hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to
their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other
847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live,
either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for
a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the
same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers.
Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who
is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the
house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1936 there was
162 only one couple with three children who were issue of that same
marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171/646 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [304] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

557 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamamaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chaaevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytaí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

171/551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

000 those of people killed by others, and whatever number of heads they break, that many names they take, casting off the name given by their father at birth... but the name they take they will not tell (even when begged to do so) except at great festivities with wine and songs in their honor..."

553 It sometimes happened that when I asked for the name of a certain Tapirapé, the person in question would give me one name and some other person present would give another. When I asked which of the names was more commonly used, I was always told that a Tapirapé adult, as a rule, has "many" names. According to what I was able to observe, however, each person was called, as a rule, by a single name which remained the same throughout the time of my visit in 1935. This does not invalidate the information they gave me, however, for a Tapirapé does receive other names aside from the one he is given at birth, although this is done for reasons ~~very~~ different from those leading to the proliferation of names among the Tupinambá. Reverend Kegel witnessed a festive gathering in September, which he described to me as follows. After sundown, in the moonlight, the men sat on mats in the Tampiitaua plaza divided into two groups, one facing the other. One of the leaders of the village stood between the two groups, inventing names. Whenever a name came to his mind, he would call one of the men present, and walk hither and yon humming a song that included the new name of the person he had called, the name being sometimes jocular and sometimes serious in meaning.

[551] [124:141] Kamairahó, the principal leader, told me that at three different ages he had had successively the following names: Pancheengví, Ananavuytingí, and Kanchoarioí, Only after the death of his father did he adopt his present name, which was the name of his father and of all his male ancestors in the paternal line. He added that only then did he marry. He stated further that like him, all Tapirapé have several successive names through childhood and adulthood.

It may be, as I shall show, that they were given these names but did not use them. In Tampiitaua in 1947 I identified nine Tapirapé males and six females, and with less certainty another male and seven other females, whom I had known at the time of my previous visit. In 1935, I had figured out the ages of the nine individuals in the first group as 8, 12, 17, 18, 20, 26, and 38 years, respectively; that of the six females in the same group as 1 1/2, 4-5, 20, 25, 28, and 30 years; that of the male identified without complete certainty as 4 years; and that of the seven females about whom I had similar doubts as 3, 6, 7, 7, 13, 20, and 26 years. Now, among those 23 individuals, only three were using totally different names in 1947 from those they had used in 1935. Incidentally, all the Tapirapé whom Wagley recognized on photographs taken by myself in 1935 still had in 1939 the same name they had used when photographed. Some slight phonetic differences between the names of certain persons as registered by myself in 1935 and in 1947 probably resulted from variations in the pronunciation of the informants, or else existed only in the ear of the researcher. In 1947, as in 1935, two names were sometimes given instead of one. A young man who had been 12 years old in 1935, and who at that time had only the name Tampirí, was called Tampirí-Chamaneyma in 1947. A woman whose name I recorded as Airuvitynga in 1935 (*tynga*, like *chinga*, means "white") was called Eirova-Chaeroí 12 years later as an elderly lady and the wife of a new husband (the final *i* in Airuvi is added for euphonic reasons, and this word is otherwise identical to Eirova).

The three individuals who had changed names altogether, on the other hand, were called Tanupanchoa, Panchaí, and Kovyra at the time of my first visit. The first one, who was a man of 45 or 50 in 1947, had adopted the name of his younger brother Kamananê, who died after 1935. The second one, who appeared to be about 35 in 1947 and who had become a shaman and acquired despotic tendencies, had come to be called Vuatanamy, the name of the late sorcerer--medicine man who had been the toughest of the Tampiitaua leaders in 1935. The new Vuatanamy was not living at the time in the house of the former one, was [124:142] about 20 years younger, and to my knowledge was not a close relative. In 1935, Kovyra, a boy about eight years old, was already regarded as a sort of future successor to Kamairahó, the principal leader. In reference to this he was sometimes called by the man's name in a joking tone, with the addition of the diminutive suffix *i*. In 1947 he no longer used his own childhood name and had been addressed exclusively by the name of the deceased leader for some time, although still with the addition of the diminutive for he was

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead
man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving
festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received
a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because
my companion had the opportunity to be present at that
gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his
own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold
you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The
exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a
custom found among tribes in various parts of South America.
[Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the
Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was
called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never
heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian
leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants
of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure,
and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced
it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on
subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly.
They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal
their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able
to find out their names only through a third person, and they were
given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem
to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous
to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask
for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other relatives
173 who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the
Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example,
the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who
does something for the children can obtain anything from the
parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all
Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the
children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forggt the behavior of Maeyma during
the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around
the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying.
Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and
sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[262] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the
[755] following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma,
lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when
he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

784 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when
the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we
may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we
observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes,
that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other
children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
[171] their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one
513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and
one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net
in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935,
I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one
girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their
mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two,
and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one
boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935
(the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child)
and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl
of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife,
about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept
in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his
mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with
her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to
adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233]
and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
[422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are
acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector
may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively
by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the
village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body.
Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect
and take the child in her arms again.

As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip
171 of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among
854 the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either
tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in
some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according
to Fernão Cardim (180), carried their children "wrapped in
hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like
gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants
of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according
to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried
the children in their arms.

Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes
171 that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child
861 or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment."
This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of
the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that
they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort."
Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes
ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children"
[cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying
child, unless he is sick.

In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who
736 had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely,
one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and
three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her
net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her
stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net
beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the
other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three,
was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he
was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty
and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable
state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other
children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76),
in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call iolô.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, asschildren here so commonly do, the

171 children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of
858 the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian
child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom
he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two
other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the
[857] Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the
adults than among us and are never different in type from the work
of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns
[421] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he
wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for
857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said
968 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy
422 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman's sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other
857 than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that
[201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

We may say of the children of that village on the isle of
171 Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian
865 communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to
the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic
and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them
no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they
call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree
as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do
battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children
they found among South American Indians (cf., for example,
Koch-Grünberg *2*, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to
192 about five years of age, are called *antaí* in Tapirapé. In
561 Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following
858 entry: "Taína, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the
171 first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a
name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at
which point the boy becomes *curumi* and girl *cunhantai*." Aside
from these terms, the Tapirapé use *ampyki* for the small boy and
pityngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the
age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows:
"The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as
they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peĩtan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (*2*, 384): "A girl, or a
boy up to age three, *Mitang*" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl s first menstruation and the beginning of the boy s puberty, the Tapirapé call the former *kutantaí* and the latter *ekonomî*. Montoya (*2*, I, 383 and 377) gives *Cuña* *taî* for a "girl up to 10 years" and *Cunumí* for a "youth."

Photo. 3

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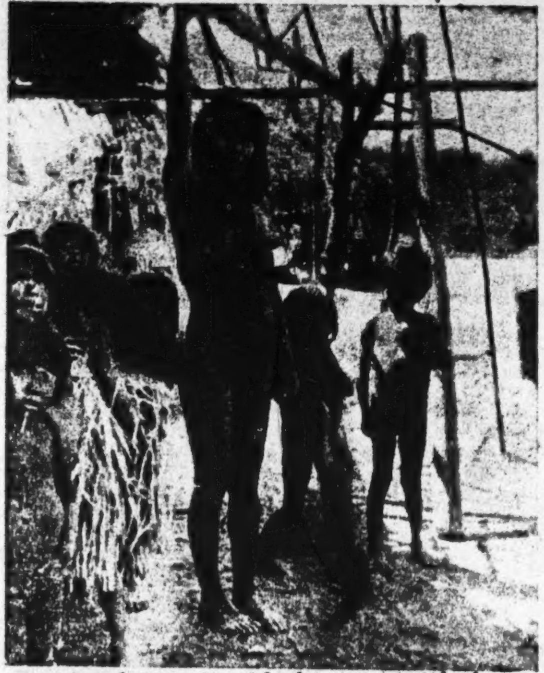

Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

Photo. 4

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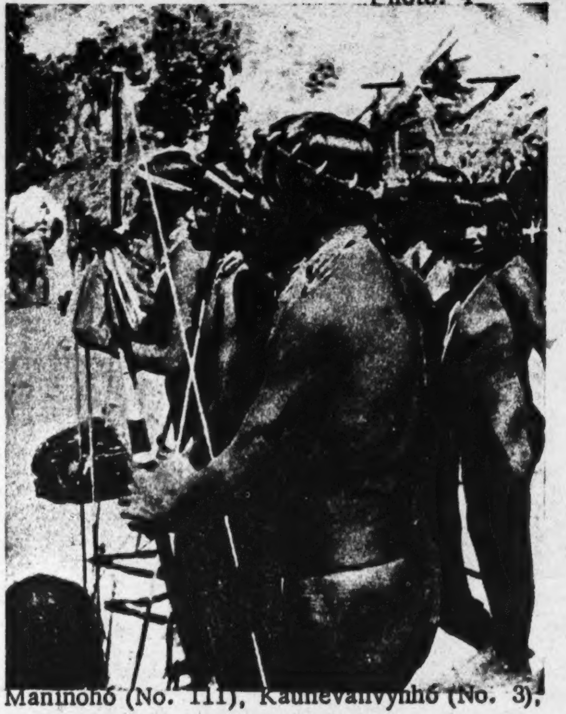

Maninohó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

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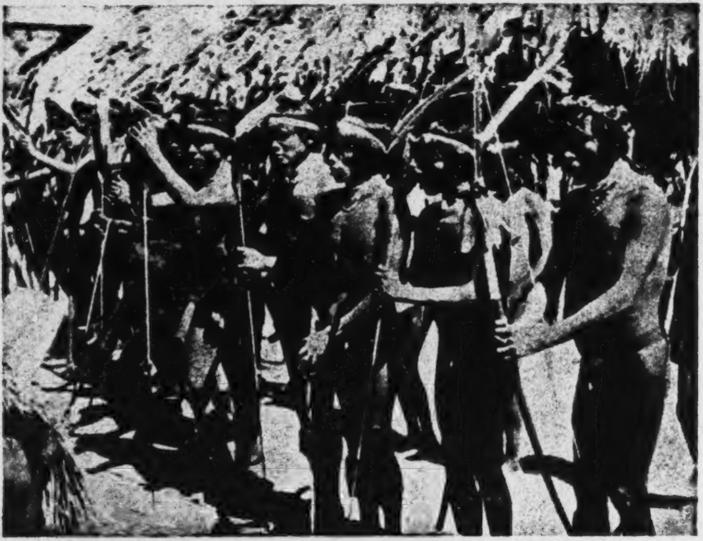
Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheaví (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoí (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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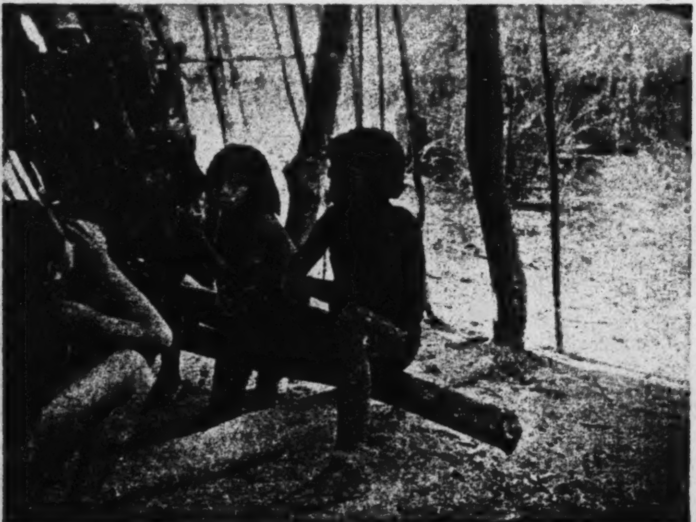
Photo. 6



Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

Photo. 7

142
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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

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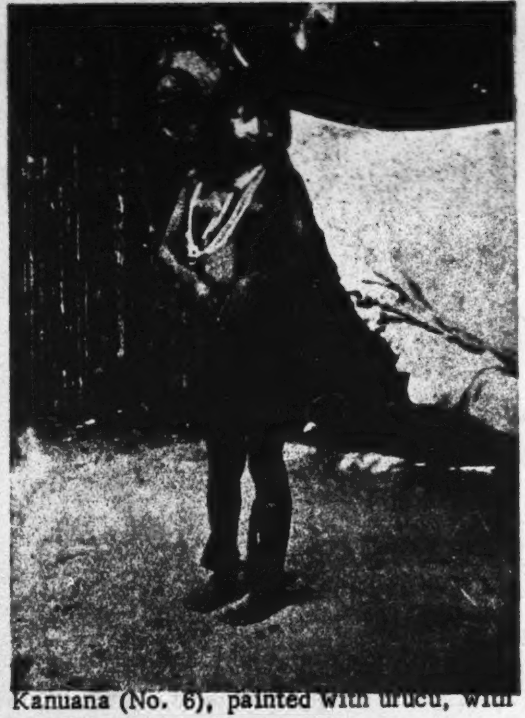
Photo. 9



Kanuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

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Photo. 10

Tamankurá on the forearms of a youth.

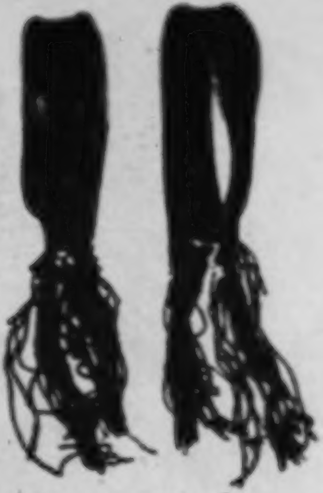
Photo. 11

The initial phase in the making of tamankurá (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 12

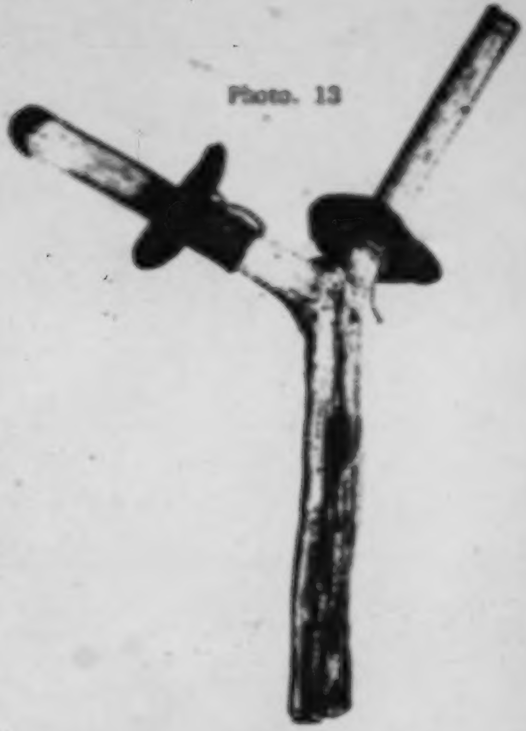
Putting the tamankurá on the girl's ankle. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 14a



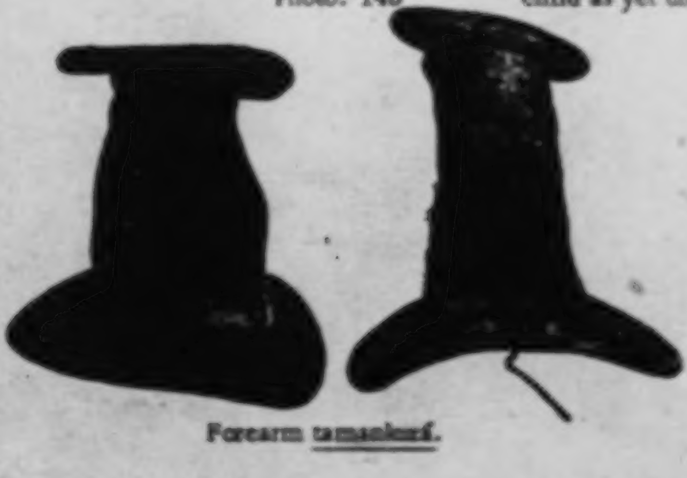
Garter tamankurá.

Photo. 13



Tamankurá for a child as yet unborn.

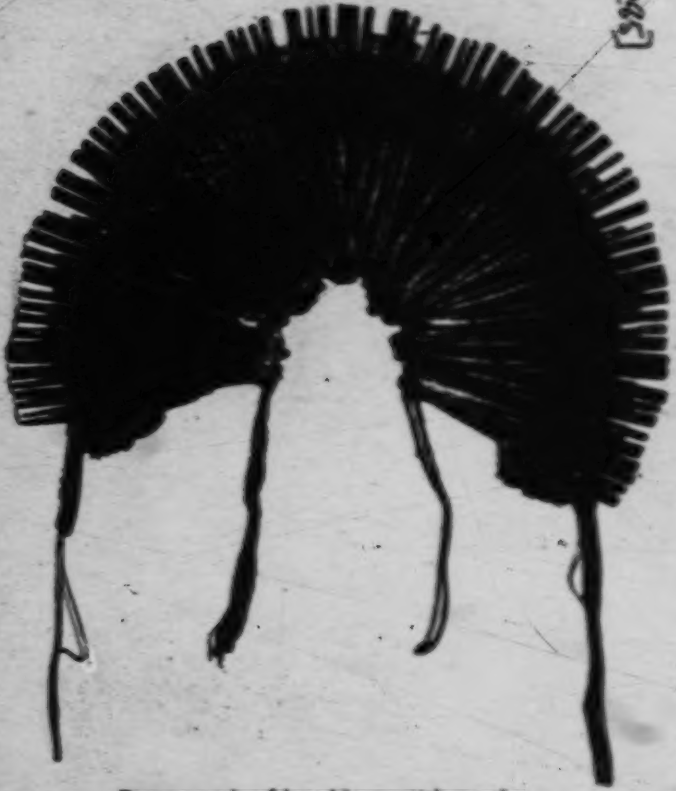
Photo. 14b



Forearm tamankurá.

Photo. 15

[285]



Framework of headdress without the feathers.

Photo. 16

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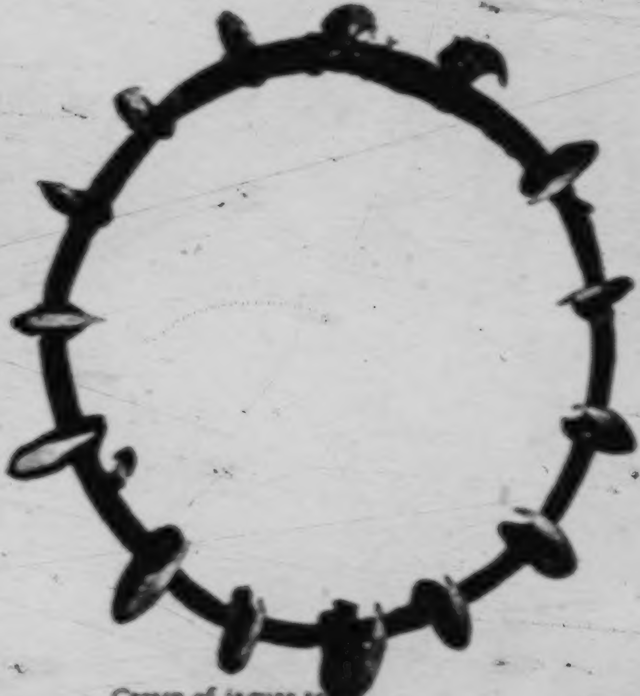

Crown of jaguar teeth.

1:Baldus--177 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[291]

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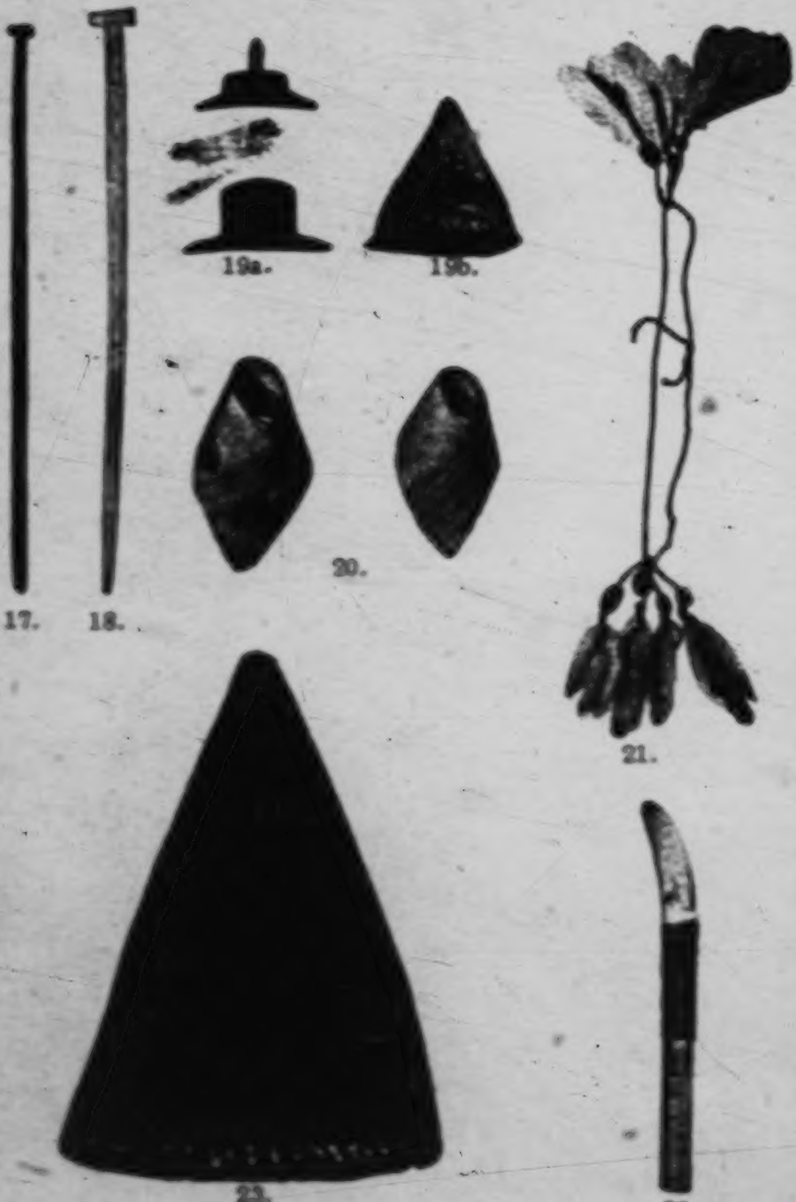

Photo. 17. *Tembetá* of deer bone. -- 18. *Tembetá* of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden *tembetá*. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden *tembetá*. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

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Photo. 24

Men leaving for the hunt.

Photo. 25

Shooting a bird arrow.

Photo. 26

Shooting a bird arrow.

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[342]

Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

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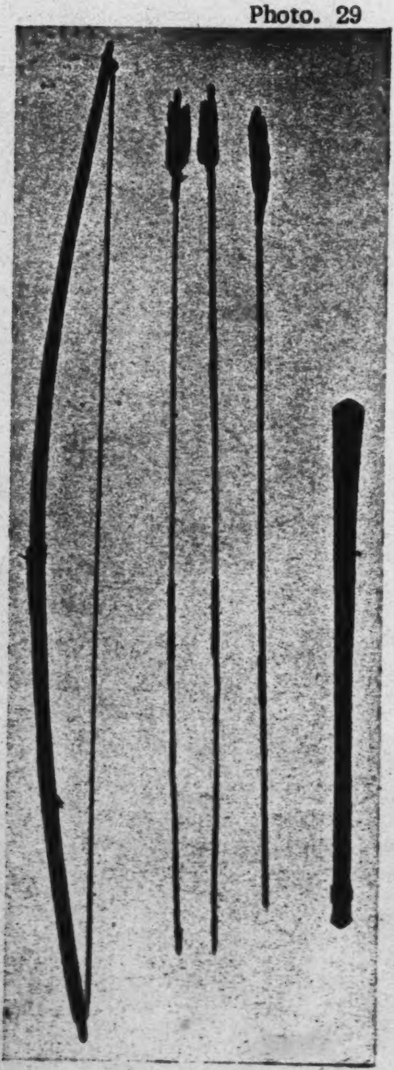
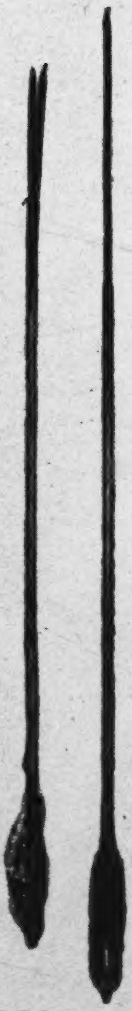
Photo. 29



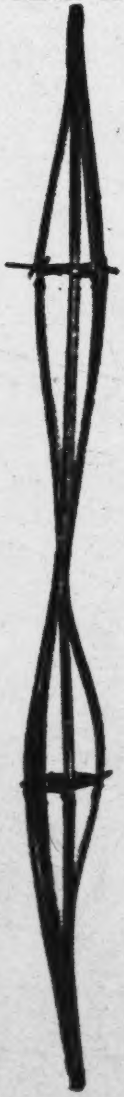
Club, bow, and arrows.

Photo. 30



Small fishing arrows with one and three points.

Photo. 31



"Rod-trap".

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Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekiá) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

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Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus
262

SP22 Tapirapé SP22

/Materials on diet will be found in category 116, pp. 114-123, 128-141, 143, and 145-153./